THE MUSLIM WORLD

VOL. LI APRIL 1961 NO. 2

EDITORIAL

SELF-EXPENDITURE

Many years ago the pen and brush of a pupil of John Ruskin produced a booklet entitled *Parables of the Cross and the Christ Life.* In this work the artist, I. Lilias Trotter, had selected for her subjects some of the most ordinary and abject thorns, thistles, grasses and seed-pods of the fields and portrayed them as creations of beauty with divine meanings. Among them is the white, fluffy and delicate seed-globe of the lowly dandelion which, having already discarded its golden petals, is represented as a living thing that had reached its "crowning stage of dying" and therefore was offering itself seed by seed to the winds. The symbol is explained thus:

> Measure thy life by loss and not by gain,
> Not by the wine drunk, but by the wine poured forth,
> For love's strength standeth in love's sacrifice,
> And he who suffers most has most to give.

Is this not a lesson in self-expenditure? Nothing is more natural than that life should, to attain fulfilment, expend itself to the last vestige of energy. A mother gives herself unstintingly, unquestioningly and without regrets for her child. The man of science devotes himself unreservedly to his study, research, experimentation and recording for the sake of knowledge, hoping for no reward other than the consciousness of having contributed a measure to man's understanding of his universe. May we not consider Ignace Goldziher, subject of an article in our previous issue, as well as other Islamic scholars whose names might be mentioned along with that of the Hungarian Professor, as an example of such self-giving? As much may be said for unnumbered and unnamed men and women of all walks of life in all times and lands.

If out-pouring of self is natural, moreover, its recognition as a principle for human relationships is urgently needed in this day of feverish acquisition and self-aggrandizement. For example, under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations which was approved on December 10, 1948, by all but eight of the then participating members, acknowledgement was granted of certain rights which people naturally should enjoy in common. Among these are the right to life, liberty, security of person, equality before the law, a fair hearing before an impartial tribunal, residence and movement, a nationality, marriage with free consent of the parties concerned, possession of property, holding and expression of opinion, participation in government, education, adequate living standards, and yet others.

But in spite of signatures affixed to this extraordinary document,

these rights cannot become operative among people whose principle of conduct is "might makes right," and "get all you can." Rather the presupposition of this Universal Declaration is that men will will conduct affairs not according to the principle of getting but of giving. If harmony is the goal, grasping must be excluded. Success of this venture in international relations will depend ultimately on whether or not some will be disposed to expend themselves for the welfare of others, the strong for the weak, the "haves" for the "have-nots," the more advanced for the retarded. This is so because the acknowledged oneness of humanity under one God requires a oneness of purpose, motive and effort. Obviously this oneness renders untenable all notions of race superiority, of the elevation of one class in society above other classes, of God's preference of one people over others, of inequalities or priorities in the matter of intelligence. It implies the right of people to hold independent opinions and to think for themselves. Eventually intellectual freedom may prove to be the most highly prized of the human rights, for it is only when the mind becomes free of its traditional shackles that other liberties flourish.

But to champion the cause of Human Rights is to invite opposition, for all peoples are not yet ready to concede the validity of the ideal expressed in the United Nations document. Therefore the arena of public affairs will continue to call for the presence, voice and activity of hardy souls who have understood that the goal of human good is reached only by self-giving.

Islam, fundamentally, does not disrespect the idea of self-giving. The Sufi dictum, *lā rubūbīyah illā bi'l-ʿubūdīyah* clearly alludes to the dignity of servanthood. Frequent Quranic exhortations to spend *fī sabīl Allāh,* or to give from what God has bountifully provided, are in line with the principle of concern for the welfare of others. Upon man is placed a sacred obligation to employ bounties graciously received, not only to supply his own wants, but in service to fellow men. Islam does not despise the humble deeds of Jesus; nor is the intent of its denial of the Crucifixion of our Lord to degrade Him.

These considerations bring us to the point of the Easter season. Should one recoil from the thought that the supremely Powerful, the supreme Bestower, should also be the supreme Self-expender? Why should servanthood be despised as something beneath dignity, if not because men by their inordinate desire for domination have instituted slavery and degraded service? If there is no lordship except through servantship, why should it appear strange that He who did no wrong (II Cor. 5 : 21) should submit to man-instituted indignities in order to help men to understand the nature of true lordship? It is the lordship of service, the dignity of self-expenditure, that the world is slowly learning to accredit with universal validity. But how slowly!

Easter, then, of profounder import than a spring festival, reminds a distraught and apprehensive humanity of the eternal principle of renewal through decay, revivication through mortality, gain through expenditure. "What you sow does not come to life, unless it dies." (I Cor. 15 : 36).

E. H. D.

Continuation of translation of the *Bayān al-Farq bayn al-Ṣadr wa al-Qalb wa al-Fuʾād wa al-Lubb* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī.

[Part Three: the Heart]

(47) Blindness and sight, however, are attributes of the heart and not of the breast. God said: *For indeed it is not the eyes that grow blind, but it is the hearts, which are within the breasts, that grow blind.* [1] This is the literal way [of using the words "heart" and "breast"]. Metaphorically, however, and in accordance with what the people are familiar with, the word "breast" is often used for the word "heart." God said: *Say: Whether ye hide that which is in your breasts or reveal it, God knoweth* it, [2] and: *But that which their breasts hide is greater,* [3] and: *And thy Lord knoweth what their breasts conceal and what they publish.* [4] God meant in these verses the heart. However, He meant the hearts of the infidels, because their breasts and hearts are shrinking and closed, being devoid of the light of guidance.

(48) This type of knowledge [5] does not become firmly established in the breast except after much repetition, concentration and perseverance, for the breast is like a passage, especially for that knowledge which is acquired by hearing and which enters it from the outside. As for that which enters [the breast] from inside the heart, such as the subtleties of wisdom (*laṭāʾif al-ḥikmah*) and indications of grace (*shawāhid al-minnah*), it is firmly established in the heart. [6] These states (*aḥwāl*), however, do not become firmly established in the breast, because it is the place of entry for distractions and desires. The breast is like the courtyard of the house (*bayt*) within the home (*dār*). Servants, neighbors, strangers and others sometimes enter the home, but no one enters the master's house except blood kindred, relatives, or close friends.

It is also possible metaphorically to denote the heart by the word "self." God said in the story of Jesus: *Thou knowest what is in my self.* [7] That is, Thou knowest what is in my heart. He also said: *Know that God knoweth what is in your selves, so beware of Him,* [8] and what He meant by the word "self" was the heart.

The Apostle of God said: "Verily, God forgave my nation for that which their selves said to them." It is plain here that what is meant is the evil whisperings of the breasts, which do not become

---

[1] *Qurʾān,* XXII, 46
[2] *Qurʾān,* III, 29.
[3] *Qurʾān,* III, 118.
[4] *Qurʾān,* XXVIII, 69.
[5] I.e., Knowledge of the *sharīʿah, ḥadīth,* etc.
[6] I have emended the Arabic text to read *qalb* instead of *ṣadr.*
[7] *Qurʾān,* V, 116.
[8] *Qurʾān,* II, 235.

(49) firmly established. / One is interrogated and judged, however, for that which is firmly established in the heart. God said: *Lo! The hearing and the sight and the heart (fuʾād)—of each of these it will be asked.* [9]

Every science (*ʿilm*) which the self carries and the breast learns causes the self to increase in pride and arrogance and to refuse acceptance of the truth. Thus the self, as it increases in knowledge, increases in jealousy towards its brothers and in the pursuit of evil and immoderateness. The Apostle of God said: "Verily, there is an immoderateness to this knowledge just as there is to wealth."

Know that if knowledge is of little value (*nafʿ*), its possessor can buy with it something of only little worth, thereby rejecting obedience to God. Knowledge is acquired only in order to carry out the law (*sharīʿah*), to discipline, improve, and preserve the self from ignorance, to know the punishments prescribed by religion, and to practice its outward forms. This knowledge increases in value only if God reveals to one the inner knowledge of the heart, which is the truly valuable knowledge.

Do you not know that the Apostle of God said: "Knowledge is of two kinds: knowledge of the tongue, which is the evidence of God (*ḥujjat Allāh*) to His creation, and knowledge of the heart, which is the truly valuable knowledge." The Apostle of God once sought refuge in God saying: "O my God! Verily I seek refuge in Thee
(50) from / knowledge that is of no value." He also said: "We take refuge in God from the hypocrite who is learned of tongue but ignorant of heart." All this is proof of the fact that the knowledge which one has and which one has acquired through hearing is merely the evidence of God for the self. With it one buys the world and dispenses with religion, which is of more value to one, and which one does not begin to practice until God reveals to one the valuable knowledge. The Apostle of God is reported to have said: "To whoever practices what he knows, God grants the knowledge of what he does not know."

Know that there is no limit to the depth of the heart's seas, nor an end to the multitude of its rivers. Wise men (*ḥukamāʾ*) in these seas resemble pearl divers and in these rivers they are like fishermen. Each of them finds and brings forth from them according to God's providence. Thus to one of them God reveals gems of knowledge about the faults of this world, the rapidity of its transformations, the magnitude of its deceit, its lack of stability, and the proximity of its end. To him also is revealed knowledge of the wiles of the devil and the varieties of his evil whispering.

To another is granted knowledge of the ranks of the pious, the degrees of the people of learning, [and such virtues as] nobility of character, kindness towards those beset with misfortune, endurance

---

[9] *Qurʾān*, XVII, 36.

(51) of pain, generosity in this world, preferring others to oneself, / fear of hell, waging war against the devil, striving against the self and opposing its passions, imitating the Apostle and his companions, and holding fast to the *sunnah*.

To another is given the ability to converse about the grace of God, about the recollection of His bounties and the averting of His afflictions, about the abundance of His gifts, the beauty of His protection, the great extent of His forbearance, His forgiveness, His all-embracing mercy, and other similar matters.

To another is granted the vision of what God had in His eternity determined for him, such as His remembrance of him, His choosing and purifying him and His earlier favors to him. To yet another is granted vision of the reality of divine acts, so that he witnesses the effects of God's power in all things, and the beauty of His creation.

To another is given vision of the greatness of God, His majesty and grandeur, and the magnitude of His power beside the insignificant power of His creatures. To him is revealed the poverty of created beings, their want, destitution, and utter need for God in contrast to His omnipotence and independence from them, the amplitude of His treasuries, His self-sufficiency and His benevolent concern for their affairs.

To yet another is bestowed the vision of God's assistance, the sweetness of gnosis (*maᶜrifah*) and love, and the vision of God's protection in preserving him from error, infidelity and passions.

To another is granted contemplation only of God's uniqueness (*fardānīyah*) and oneness (*waḥdānīyah*), so that he sees within himself (*fī sirrihi*) nothing but God. Thus, as he contemplates God, the power (52) of anyone less than God disappears / within him, and he sees His eternity, perfection and everlastingness, and, on the other hand, the genesis of creation and its passing away.

There is no limit to the substance and depth of these seas [of wisdom], for God said: *He giveth wisdom unto whom He will, and he unto whom wisdom is given, he truly hath received abundant good. But none remember except men of intellect* (*ulū al-albāb*).[10]

Of all these aspects [of wisdom] those which can be put into words by the wise man are like the form which the sea casts off and which is then put to use by mankind. Similarly the wisdom of the wise man which can be expressed with the tongue and explained to mankind is like a foam which wells up out of the sea of the heart. Thus just as one who has a disease of the eye uses the foam of the sea as a remedy, so also one whose heart is sick with love of the world, and the two eyes of whose heart have become diseased, benefits from the words of the wise man. In this way God cures his breast from the

---

[10] *Qurʾān*, II, 269.

sickness which is in it, such as attachment to passion and other evil traits.

This, then, is both the inward and the outward aspect of knowledge, and neither the one nor the other can be dispensed with, for one of them is the exposition of the *sharīᶜah,* which is the evidence of God to His creation, and the other is the exposition of reality (*al-ḥaqīqah*), which I have described in part. The life of the heart and that of the self depend on both of these aspects. Moreover, the
(53) soundness of the outward aspect of religion / and its maintenance is through knowledge of the *sharīᶜah,* whereas the soundness of the inward aspect of religion and its maintenance is through that other knowledge, the knowledge of reality.

The proof of this is that the soundness of religion depends upon the perfection of piety. The Apostle of God said: "Piety is here," and pointed with his hand to his heart. Thus he who is pious through outward knowledge but denies the inward knowledge is a hypocrite, whereas he who is pious through inward knowledge but has not studied outward knowledge, which is required to carry out the *sharīᶜah,* which he thereby denies, is a heretic (*zindīq*). Indeed, this inner knowledge of his is no knowledge at all but merely evil thoughts inspired in him by the devil. God said: *Lo! the devils do inspire their minions.* [11]

As for the faithful Muslim who is righteous and knowing, he believes in the Book of God and the way of His Apostle. He holds fast to the *sharīᶜah,* acts in accordance with it, and imitates and follows the Apostle of God and the leaders from among his companions. With his heart he contemplates his dependence upon God and his glorification of Him. He sees his own poverty and abandons [his own free] choice, seeking the companionship of the merciful King.

God has so assisted me with His favor that I have greatly expanded the explanation and elucidation of the difference between the breast and the heart.

The heart is the abode (*maᶜdin*) of the light of faith (*nūr al-īmān*). God said: *He hath written faith upon their hearts,* [12] and: *But God hath endeared the faith to you and hath beautified it in your hearts,* [13] and: *Whose heart is content with the faith.* [14]

(54) The heart is also the abode / of piety (*taqwā*), calmness (*sakīnah*), fear (*wajal*), humility (*ikhbāt*), softness (*līn*), tranquility (*iṭmaᵓnīnah*), submission (*khushūᶜ*), refinement (*tamḥīṣ*), and purity (*ṭahārah*). God said: *And imposed on them the word of piety* (*taqwā*) *for they were worthy of it,* [15] and indicated that this imposition was upon their

---

[11] *Qurᵓān,* VI, 121.
[12] *Qurᵓān,* LVIII, 22.
[13] *Qurᵓān,* XLIX, 7.
[14] *Qurᵓān,* XVI, 106.
[15] *Qurᵓān,* XLVIII, 26.

hearts. He also said: *He it is who sent down calmness (sakīnah) into the hearts of the believers,* [16] and: *And He knew what was in their hearts and sent down calmness on them,* [17] and in the story of Abraham: *But in order that my heart may be tranquil,* [18] and: *That our hearts may be tranquil,* [19] and: *Those are they whose hearts God hath proven unto piety,* [20] and the Apostle of God pointed out piety in his heart. God also said: *God accepteth only from those who are pious.* [21] Piety originates in the heart and consists in guarding (*taqwā*) against doubt (*shakk*), polytheism (*shirk*), infidelity (*kufr*), insincerety (*riyā*[2]), and hypocrisy (*nifāq*).

God said concerning purity: *That is purer for your hearts,* [22] and:
(55) | *Those are they for whom the will of God is that He purify not their hearts,* [23] and [concerning refinement]: *And to refine what is in your hearts.* [24] Concerning fear He said: *Their hearts are afraid,* [25] and: *Their hearts feel fear,* [26] concerning humility: *And their hearts may submit humbly unto Him,* [27] and concerning softness: *Then their flesh and hearts soften to God's reminder.* [28] He said concerning lack of understanding (*ʿadam al-fiqh*): *They have hearts wherewith they understand not.* [29] Concerning submission He said: *Is not the time ripe for the hearts and those who believe to submit to God's reminder?* [30] The Apostle of God saw a man play with his beard while praying and said: "If the heart of this man submitted, his limbs would submit also." Those versed in exegesis have said that the meaning of submission is continual fear in the heart.

Know, may God have mercy on you, that of all God's creation there is nothing better than a heart which has become virtuous through the lights of unification (*tawḥīd*), gnosis (*maʿrifah*), and faith (*Īmān*), nor is there anything purer, cleaner, more pious, more sincere, nor
(56) anything | more expansive than the heart which God has cleansed of impurities and revived with the light of truth, and which He has sustained, guarded, and provided with bounties. Such is the heart of the believer, and its lights are without limit.

On the other hand, there is nothing more wicked, more rotten, nor more filthy that the heart of one whom God has forsaken, declined to

---

[16] *Qurʾān,* XLVIII, 4.
[17] *Qurʾān,* XLVIII, 18.
[18] *Qurʾān,* II, 260.
[19] *Qurʾān,* V, 113.
[20] *Qurʾān,* XLIX, 3.
[21] *Qurʾān,* V, 27.
[22] *Qurʾān,* XXXIII, 53.
[23] *Qurʾān,* V, 41.
[24] *Qurʾān,* III, 154.
[25] *Qurʾān,* XXIII, 60.
[26] *Qurʾān,* VIII, 2.
[27] *Qurʾān,* XXII, 54.
[28] *Qurʾān,* XXXIX, 23.
[29] *Qurʾān,* XXVII, 179.
[30] *Qurʾān,* LVII, 16.

preserve, and has delivered to the devil. Such is the heart of the hypocrite and the infidel, for it is the abode of polytheism, disbelief, hypocrisy, doubt, and disease. God said: *The polytheists only are unclean,* [31] and He said concerning the hypocrites: *For lo! they are unclean,* [32] and concerning doubt: *Their hearts feel doubt,* [33] and concerning denial: *Their hearts are given to denial,* [34] and concerning disease: *In their hearts is a disease.* [35] The root of all sins is hardness of the heart. The wise man (*al-ḥakīm*) said: [36] "The hard heart has no scruples about doing evil."

If the heart, however, is illumined with the light of God and the light of faith, God undertakes its safekeeping and fills it with love and awe. He seals it with the lock of power and places the key of will in the treasure of His mystery (*ghayb*), which no one approaches save during the pangs of death, for at that time is revealed to one what is in His
(57) mystery. On the other hand, if the heart / becomes filled with the darkness of infidelity, doubt, and hypocrisy, God appoints for its owner a devil, who undertakes his safekeeping and seals his heart with the lock of desertion, for God knows his final destination and what his end will be. This is not evident to anyone, however, until his throat rattles in death, for it is the secret (*sirr*) of God, which no one knows but He. How many an infidel far [from God] is granted faith and dies in bliss, and how many a believer close [to God] is forsaken by his Lord and dies in misery!

Know, may God have mercy on you, that the power of God is effective and that only some of the prophets are acquainted with His will and desire with respect to His creatures and with the results of His actions, for that is His sign of the truth of their prophecy. The Apostle of God related that ten of his companions would be from among the people of paradise as a favor and bounty from God to them.

Know that the certain determination [of whether one is to be] rewarded or punished depends upon the heart, but that the consequent execution [of reward or punishment] falls upon the self. God said: *He will take you to task for that which your hearts have garnered.* [37] This, however, has to do with the laws (*aḥkām*) of the next world, since, as regards the law of this world, it is the self which is called to account for its deeds. As for that which concerns the servant and his Lord, judgement is made according to what is in the heart. God said concerning the affair of ᶜAmmār ibn Yāsir: [38] *Save him who*

---

[31] *Qurʾān,* IX, 28.
[32] *Qurʾān,* IX, 95.
[33] *Qurʾān,* IX, 45.
[34] *Qurʾān,* XVI, 22.
[35] *Qurʾān,* II, 10.
[36] Perhaps Luqmān al-Ḥakīm is meant here. Cf. *Qurʾān,* XXXI, 12-13.
[37] *Qurʾān,* II, 225.
[38] The affair of ᶜAmmār ibn Yāsir is described by Abū Nuᶜaym in his *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ,* Vol. I, p. 140.

is forced thereto and whose heart is still content with the faith.[39]
(58) God thus excused ᶜAmmār / because [his apostacy] was forced upon him and did him no harm since his heart remained secure in true faith.

The servant [of God] is rewarded for the performance of religious obligations if the intention of his heart is pure through the light of faith. The Apostle of God said: "People are rewarded according to their intentions," and: "Works are only according to intentions," and: "No action is attributed to one who has no intention."

The breast is the place into which enters expressible knowledge (*ᶜilm al-ᶜibārah*). The heart, on the other hand, is the abode of that knowledge which is beyond expressible knowledge and which is [known as] the knowledge of wisdom and symbolic allusion (*ᶜilm al-ḥikmah wa-al-ishārah*). Expressible knowledge is the evidence of God to his creatures. God says to them: What have you accomplished with what you have learned? The knowledge of symbolic allusion, however, is the path (*maḥajjah*) of the servant to God by means of God's guidance of him, for God opens his heart to the contemplation of His mystery (*ghayb*) and to the vision of what is behind His veils. It is as if he were seeing all that with his own eyes, so that even if all were revealed to him (*kushifa lahu al-ghiṭāᵓ*), he would hardly be better off. The heart, then, is the seat of the knowledge of allusion. Expressible knowledge is that knowledge which can be expressed with the tongue, whereas knowledge of allusion means that one alludes with one's heart to God's lordship, His unity, greatness, majesty, power, and all His attributes, as well as the realities of His works and acts.

The abode of the light of faith and that of the light of the *Qurᵓān* are one, and it is the heart, for both of these lights are similar. God said: *Thou knewest not what the Qurᵓān was nor what the faith,*
(59) *but / we have made it a light.*[40] Thus God combined the two lights by using the singular form of the pronoun, "it." The meaning of allusion (*ishārah*) is that, from the time in which one alludes to the lordship of one's Lord, one does not lose faith in Him, nor does one give thanks to anyone else nor ask from anyone but Him.

Know, then, that the light of the heart is a whole. It cannot be divided or partitioned, for it is a principle (*aṣl*) which either appears in its entirety or disappears in its entirety. The darkness of infidelity is similar to it, for it is the root of all misfortune until it disappears. Sometimes, however, the power [of the light of the heart] weakens or fades or is dispersed. It is similar to a lamp, which remains a whole lamp even when the power of its light increases or decreases.

On the other hand, the light of the breast, as well as its darkness, increases and decreases, since it is a derivative and subsists through the self. Moreover, Islam is particularly connected with [the light of the

---

[39] *Qurᵓān*, XVI, 106.
[40] *Qurᵓān*, XLII, 52.

breast], and decrease and increase therefore enter into this facet of religion. The proof of this is what the Apostle of God said concerning women: "They are lacking in intellect and religion." His intention was merely that period of religious practice occurring during the time of menstruation and childbirth.

It is thus clear that the lights of the breast are varied, and that knowledge[41] of them involves [particular] times and amounts. Thus when one desires a certain knowledge, the light of that knowledge increases in one's breast in the [desired] amount. Its light also decreases when the knowledge is no longer useful, for the bearer of this type of knowledge is the self, and just as the self increases and decreases, so also do its actions and attributes.

(60) The lights of the heart, on the other hand, are basically whole [and unchanging]. They are similar to the sun, which is also whole. However, if there is any defect in the atmosphere, such as clouds, fog, or extreme heat or cold, which veil the sun's light, both the strength of its rays and the power of its heat decrease. If these defects are removed, however, the strength of its light becomes effective, its rays reach their limit, and its power becomes strong. In its essence, however, the sun is never deficient. Only its utility is curtailed because of these defects which I have described.

Similarly, if the light of faith, the light of gnosis, or the light of unity be overcome by the darkness of neglect, the clouds of forgetfulness, or the veils of disobedience, and the breast becomes filled with the dust of passion, the fog of the harmful deeds of the self, and despair of God's spirit, then the authority of these lights over the self is lessened and they remain limited to themselves behind these veils and curtains. However, if these defects are removed from the breast through God's grace and help, and if the servant sincerely repents to God, then the cover is removed, the veils are pierced, the utility of these lights becomes evident to the self, and their authority spreads.

(61) Whoever meditates upon this point with God's help and holds fast / to the *sunnah,* God will destroy many of the doubts of his heart and remove from his breast the roots of his doubting. God will then lead him to the vision of the truths of His mystery, for this is a clear matter for one for whom God has facilitated the way of understanding and comprehension.

As for the light of precepts (*nūr al-aḥkām*), which is the same as the light of Islam in the breast, it increases through correctness of conduct and sincerety of endeavor and decreases through refusal to practice its rules and through ceasing to make use of it. It is thus similar to the moon, which increases and decreases.

Islam is a comprehensive word for both the root of religion and its branches. God completed this religion including both its precepts and

---

[41] I have emended the Arabic text to read *ʿilm* instead of *ʿamal.*

branches in somewhat over twenty years. However, He abrogated some of its precepts and substituted in the case of others. As regards faith, gnosis, and unity, however, there is no possibility of abrogation or substitution of any part of them. It is enough for the accomplished reasoner, if he meditates upon these, to know the difference between what is carried by the self and what is carried by the heart. The believer, however, receives every moment and every hour additional grace from God. Moreover, his rank with respect to the contemplation of God's bounties increases, and from hour to hour the veils of the unseen which are yet to be removed are lifted for him. Similarly the condition of the servant of God weakens at times, and the ranks (*marātib*) of his heart
(62) are distracted by heedlessness, / although the roots remain unaffected.

Another example [of the lights of the heart] is a lamp which has been draped with curtains. Underneath [the curtains] it remains unchanged, but both its lights and its usefulness have been concealed, and it has been prevented from spreading its light. A further example is a mirror which has been wrapped in a cloth. It remains basically the same, although the usefulness of its exterior has been impaired.

Understand, then, that whereas *Jibrīl* took charge of sending down the *Qurʾān* with God's knowledge, its abode is in the heart of the Prophet. God said: *Say: Who is an enemy to Jibrīl! For he it is who hath revealed it to thy heart by God's leave,*[42] *The True Spirit hath brought it down upon thy heart.*[43]

(to be continued)

Stanford University
Stanford, California
NICHOLAS HEER

[42] *Qurʾān,* II, 97.
[43] *Qurʾān,* XXVI, 193-4.

THE RELATION OF SHĪʿA THEOLOGY TO THE QURʾĀN [1])

(PART 1)

This article is far from being a comprehensive account of the Shīʿa relation to the Qurʾān. Justice to this subject can be done only by delving into the Shīʿa Ḥadīth and more particularly into the Tafsīr literature produced under the Fāṭimī and Ṣafawī governments.

The death of ʿAlī ibn abī Ṭālib in 661 must represent a turning point in the theology of the partisans of *Ahl al-Bait*. Until then, these partisans were less enthusiastic for the emphasis of the Qurʾān on the Justice of God on *the Judgement Day* than on a promise of an immanent redress on earth. The Shīʿa community at its origin launched a political program to seek redress *here* on earth. A sense of glory in ʿAlī's worldly failure and spiritual triumph did not accompany the thoughts of the community at the time of its inception. The community struggled for ʿAlī's worldly success in its earliest days.

Even after ʿAlī's assassination the case was not abandoned. The second landmark was the martyrdom of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī at Karbalāʾ in 61/680 preceded by the alleged poisoning of Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī by Muʿāwiya in 669. This established firmly the dynastic caliphate of Banū Umayya. It can be assumed reasonably that this rather conclusive set back rendered the Shīʿa community esoteric and at the same time made them inclined to seek comfort in the Qurʾān's promise of final redress of political wrongs on the Judgement Day.

However it should be clearly recognized that this recourse to a comfort in the promises of recompense in the hereafter, in the light of the political origin of the community, was a kind of last resort and necessarily half-hearted. Shīʿa theology, therefore, while never omitting the justice of God from its exposition, expresses little zeal for the argument that their emphasis on justice is derived from an honest response to the Qurʾān's call. For the thought still lurks in their minds that political justice should have been done right here on earth.

The Qurʾān is not wanting in reminders of God's earthly retribution. The Shīʿa literature, most of which originated after the deaths of ʿAlī and his two sons, did not turn to this aspect of divine justice. This reflects that with the weakening of the political aspirations of the Shīʿa they cautiously stressed a remote rather than an immanent justice of God. Any vigorous pursuance of the idea of God's immanent justice would have been suppressed by the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids. In fact too loud a drumming on the idea of the final judgement of the Judgement Day would have caused the indignation of those in power by suggesting that they were the damned ones.

---

[1] This article will be read with more benefit if read in conjunction with the article by this writer in the January 1961 issue of *The Muslim World*.

The Shīᶜa, therefore, did not offer any drastic opposition to the excessively transcendental theology formulated under the sponsorship of the Umayyad and ᶜAbbāsid caliphates. In *Al-Bāb al-Ḥādi ᶜAshar* [2] *of Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ᶜAlī b. al Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī* (648/1250-726/1326), sections II and III on the Positive (Thubūtiyya) and Privative (Salbiyya) attributes of God take precedence over the section on Allāh's justice (Section IV). The Positive attributes enumerated in Section II are these: Allāh is *Qadīr* (Powerful), *Mukhtār* (Free). *ᶜAlīm* (Knowing), *Ḥayy* (Living), *Murīd* (Willer), *Mudrik* (Perceiver), *Qadīm* (Prior), *Mutakallim* (Speaker) and *Ṣādiq* (Veracious).

The Salbiyya qualities of God enumerated in Section III are these: Allāh is not compounded (*Murakkab*); He is neither body (*jism*) nor accident (*ᶜAraḍ*); He is not in a place (*makān*); He is not subject to pleasure or pain as He has no physical constitution (*mizāj*); He does not unite with other than Himself; He is not a locus (*maḥall*) for originated things which would imply His being acted upon (*infiᶜāl*); His ocular vision is not possible; He cannot have a partner (*sharīk*); ideas (*maᶜānī*) and states (*aḥwāl*) are denied to the Most High; He is not in need.

We see that in all these descriptions the Shīᶜa theology is not different fundamentally from Ashᶜarī theology which later set lastingly the pattern for the whole of Muslim theology. Perhaps the only significant difference in the above list of descriptions is reflected by the inclusion of the attributes *Ṣādiq* (Veracious) and *Mutakallim* (Speaker), the former being reminiscent of the Shīᶜa trust in God's promise of final redress, and the latter reminiscent of the following tradition attributed to Imām Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq:

> The Qurᵓān is neither creator nor created; it is the word of the Creator.

The Shīᶜa doctrine of the temporal createdness of the Qurᵓān, like their doctrine of divine justice, did not secure very zealous upholders, nor were they alone in stressing it, for it was as a Muᶜtazilī doctrine that it asserted itself during Mutawakkil's reign.

The primary implement of Shīᶜa theology is allegorical exegesis, which is based on traditions relative to Qurᵓānic passages and attributed to ᶜAlī. These are great in number. Here we are not able to present an analysis of that allegorical method. We shall only refer to a few verses from the Qurᵓān which the Shīᶜa cite to glorify ᶜAlī or Ahl al-Bait.

The phrase إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ كَانَ عَلِيًّا كَبِيرًا (Verily, God is High (ᶜAlī) and Great) occurs in 4 : 38 [3] as the ending phrase of that verse which teaches how men should treat women:

---

[2] With commentary by Miqdād-i-Fāḍil al-Ḥillī, translated into English by W. M. Miller, Luzac 1958.

[3] All the citations from the Qurᵓān in this article follow Fluegel's numbering.

> Men stand superior to women in that God hath preferred some of them over others, and in that they expend of their wealth: and the virtuous women, devoted, careful (in their husbands') absence, as God has cared for them. But those whose perverseness ye fear, admonish them and remove them into bed-chambers and beat them; but if they submit to you, then do not seek a way against them; verily, God is high and great.

Shīᶜa exegesis is delighted to find that ᶜAlī is used in this verse as an epithet of God. The epithet ᶜAlī is used for God again in 42 : 51. The verse says that revelation and inspiration are by God's decision. The concluding phrase is إِنَّهُ عَلِيٌّ حَكِيمٌ

> It is not for any mortal that God should speak to him, except by inspiration, or from behind a veil, or by sending an apostle and inspiring, by His permission, what He pleases: verily, He is High (ᶜAlī) and wise. (42 : 50-51).

In both these cases above, [4] the Shīᶜa identification of God and ᶜAlī is based on a pious play on words rather than on allegorical interpretation. It is ecstatic exegesis.

A passage very popular with the Shīᶜa is 33: 32-33 which reads as follows:

> O ye women of the Prophet! ye are not like any other women; if ye fear God then be not too complaisant in speech, or he in whose heart is sickness will lust after you; but speak a reasonable speech.
>
> And stay still in your houses and show not yourselves with the ostentation of the ignorance of yore; and be steadfast in prayer, and give alms, and obey God and His Apostle;—God only wishes to take away from you the horror as people of the House and to purify you thoroughly.

It is evident that the phrase people of the House (*Ahl al-Bait*), as used in this passage, includes all the members of Muḥammad's household. It does not refer exclusively to the five members of the family of Fāṭima who are Fāṭima, the daughter of Muḥammad, her husband ᶜAlī and their three sons Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥsin.

Equally far fetched is the Shīᶜa insistence that the phrase *Ahl al-Bait* in 11 : 76 refers to the family of ᶜAlī:

> Said she (Abraham's wife), "Alas for me! shall I bear a son when I am an old woman, and this husband of mine an old man?" They said, "Dost thou wonder at the bidding of God? God's mercy and blessings upon you, ye people of the house (*Ahl al-Bait*)." Verily, He is to be praised and glorified.

---

[4] References to these found in the first edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam in the article on ᶜAlī ibn abī Ṭālib. Where they are cited in that article, a reference is made to JRAS, 1904, p. 151 as the source.

From a Shīᶜa tradition explaining allusions in 3: 52-54, the Shīᶜa derive the name *Aṣḥab al-Kisāᵓ* (The People of the Mantle) for Fāṭima, ᶜAlī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥsin. The passage is as follows:

> Verily, the likeness of Jesus with God is as the likeness of Adam. He created him from earth, then He said to him BE, and he was;—the truth from thy Lord, so be thou not of those who are in doubt. And whoso disputeth with thee after what has come to thee of knowledge, say, "Come, let us call our sons and your sons, and our women and your women, and ourselves and yourselves: then we will imprecate and put God's curse on those who lie".

Most commentaries, even *sunnī,* connect this passage with the disputations between Muḥammad and the Christian envoys of Najrān reported to have taken place in A.H. 10. It is recorded that the Prophet had invited them to accept Islam, but that they refused. The Prophet then invited them to observe the Arab practice of *mubāhala,* which meant that both parties should invoke the curse of God upon whichever of them was wrong. The Shīᶜa commentaries, however specify that Muḥammad came out of his house only with Fāṭima, ᶜAlī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥsin, covering them with a mantle (*kisāᵓ*). Hence the five are called People of the Mantle, the five members whom Muḥammad specially regarded as his real kin.

The author of the article on ᶜAlī in the first edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam has referred to 24: 35 among "a vast number of verses" which Shīᶜa exegesis "regards as evidence of Shīᶜa claims,"

It may be clarified that 24: 35 is a passage belonging to a quite different category of Qurᵓānic passages, that is, those in which the Shīᶜa have interpolated some words favourable to ᶜAlī. The verse in the extant ᶜUthmānic version reads as follows:

اَللّٰهُ نُورُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضِ مَثَلُ نُورِهٖ كَمِشْكٰوةٍ فِيهَا مِصْبَاحٌ . . . . .

> God is the light of the heavens and the earth; His light is as a niche in which is a lamp, ...

A Shīᶜa version of Ibn Masᶜūd, reads as follows: [5]

اَللّٰهُ نُورُ اَلسَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضِ مَثَلُ نُورِ مَنْ آمَنَ بِهٖ وَأَحَبَّ أَهْلَ بَيْتِ نَبِيِّهٖ كَمِشْكٰوةٍ فِيهَا مِصْبَاحٌ . . . . .

> God is the light of the heavens and the earth; the semblance of the light of one who believes in Him and loves the People of the House of His Apostle is as a niche in which is lamp, ...

---

[5] *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurᵓān,* Arthur Jeffery, Brill 1937, p. 65.

This last instance brings us to the interesting subject of textual variants in the Qurʾānic codices of the first three centuries of Islam. To the mind of the present writer, nothing will stir Islamic scholarship into creative activity more than a revival of the discussions of *Asbāb al-Nuzūl* (Historical causes of descent of Qurʾānic verses) and *Mukhtalifāt al-Qurʾān* (Textual variants of the Qurʾān). Perhaps with the exception of scholars of *al-Azhar* and those of *Deoband* in India and other schools of that kind, educated Muslims are universally unaware of any variance in early codices except in trivial matters of diacritical marks. And the few scholars who are aware of the full details of variance of early codices, are not critically oriented to realise the dynamic resourcefulness of that variance for the future development of Islam. That there continued to exist until the beginning of the fourth century A.H. various editions of the Qurʾān after the ʿUthmānic edition had become standard, is a fact which will shock contemporary Muslims greatly. It is impossible to give a full picture of the codices in circulation in the first three centuries in relation to political, social and spiritual motivations in this brief article. The readers are referred to the late Arthur Jeffery's admirable work entitled *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾān* (Brill 1937). That book rates among the very first to be translated into Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu as insemination for the birth of enlightened Muslim scholarship.

As a ready reference, Muslims are referred to the chapter on *Mukhtalifāt al-Qurʾān* in the *Itqān* of al-Suyūṭī, a work written in the latter part of the 15th century.

Although on pp. 17-18 of his work, Prof. Jeffery has given a list of the main sources from which the variants have been gathered, the work would have been of much greater value had the sources of each variant been indicated separately.

The same volume by Prof. Jeffery contains his edition of the *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* of *Abū Bakr ʿAbdullah ibn abī Dāʾūd al-Sijistānī* (230-316 A.H.), a son of *Abū Dāʾūd* the author of the famous canonical *Ḥadīth* work called *al-Sunan*.

In the rest of this article we shall comment on the Shīʿa variants contained in the codices of ʿAlī, Ibn Masʿūd and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq illustrating the nature of Shīʿa interpolations or departures from the ʿUthmānic text.

For the very different arrangement of sūrahs in ʿAlī's codex found in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, see Arthur Jeffery's work (p. 183). However, it is generally believed that ʿAlī approved the Uthmanic codex when it was ready and his own codex was burnt.

Five sūrahs are missing from the codex of ʿAlī: *Fātiḥa* (1), *Raʿd* (13), *Sabāʾ* (34), *Taḥrīm* (66), *ʿAlaq* (96).

There seems to be no allusion or implication in sūrahs 1, 13, 34 and

96 which might have motivated a deliberate Shīᶜa elimination of these chapters. The absence of Sūrah 66 (Taḥrim) however is interesting. The opening verses (1-5) of the chapter are as follows:

> In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.
>
> O thou prophet! wherefore dost thou prohibit what God has made lawful to thee, craving to please thy wives? but God is forgiving, compassionate!
>
> God has allowed you to expiate your oaths; for God is your sovereign, and He is the knowing, the wise!
>
> And when the prophet told as a secret to one of his wives a recent event, and when she gave information thereof and exposed it, he acquainted her with some of it and avoided part of it. But when he informed her of it, she said, "Who told thee this?" he said, "The wise one, the well-aware informed me."
>
> If ye both turn repentant unto God,—for your hearts have swerved—but if ye back each other up against him,—verily God, He is the sovereign; and Gabriel and the righteous of the believers, and the angels after that, will back him up.

The vague allusions in these verses are explained alternatively. The first explanation is attributed by both Muslim and Bukhārī to ᶜĀᵓisha, Muḥammad's youngest wife, who report as follows:

The Prophet used to stop at the house of his wife Zainab bint Jaḥsh and partake of honey there. ᶜĀᵓisha and Ḥafṣa, both being his wives, decided together that at his next visit to either of them, the wife receiving him should say to him, "You smell of maghāfīr. Have you eaten some maghāfīr?" [6] When the Prophet came to one of them, she said what had been agreed upon. The Prophet said, "I had some honey at the house of Zainab." Thereupon he swore that he would never again drink honey, [7] and asked that his oath be kept secret. The verses 1-5 descended allowing Muḥammad to break his oath.

The alternative explanation connects the verses with the indignation of ᶜĀᵓisha or Ḥafṣa respectively over Muḥammad's lying with the Coptic girl Mary on the day due to ᶜĀᵓisha or Ḥafṣa. The account goes on to say that Ḥafṣa was asked by Muḥammad to keep the matter secret from other wives. Ḥafṣa however revealed it confidentially to ᶜĀᵓisha. Muḥammad was angry at this betrayal and stayed away from his wives for a whole month. The chapter is said to be intended to free Muḥammad from his oath and as a reproof to his wives. (See Palmer's translation of the Qurᵓān in the Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. II. p. 290. f.n.).

The chapter seems to contain allusions, the varying explanations of which give importance to Muḥammad's wives ᶜĀᵓisha and Ḥafṣa. Among Muḥammad's wives, the Shīᶜa hold in veneration only Kha-

---

[6] A pungent gum.

[7] Perhaps meaning: at the house of Zainab.

dīja, the mother of Fāṭima. And they would not like to see ᶜĀʾisha and Ḥafṣa alluded to in the Qurʾān in a way implying that Muḥammad was fond of them, particularly ᶜĀʾisha who remained an adversary of ᶜAlī and Fāṭima throughout their lives.

(to be continued)

Hartford, Connecticut. DAUD RAHBAR

AN EXPERIMENT IN BASIC DEMOCRACIES

On the fourteenth of August, 1947, Pakistan became an independent nation while retaining its ties with the British Commonwealth. Separated from India on the basis of an agreement whereby predominantly Muslim areas of the Indian sub-continent would constitute a separate country, Pakistan faced considerably greater difficulties than did India in setting up the frame-work for constitutional government. India could retain throughout the governmental and political structure willed to her by the departing colonial government, while Pakistan had from the very beginning to set up a new super-structure, based on the system of local and provincial government developed over the preceding decades. The situation was complicated by the fact that Pakistan came into existence as an avowedly Muslim state. Admittedly, the form of government hastily set up in the beginning must in time give place to something else, something more suited to Pakistan as a Muslim country, something more definitely in keeping with the needs of the new country.

Constitution-making proved to be a slow and laborious process, and the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was not completed until 1956. It was a disappointing document, in which, for instance, there were such glaring gaps as failure to define who is a citizen of Pakistan. In the main, its provisions followed the tradition of government handed down by the British. Lip service was paid to Pakistan's being an Islamic Republic by a statement in the Preamble which indicated that Pakistan should be a nation "wherein the Muslims of Pakistan should be enabled individually and collectively to order their lives in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam, as set out in the Holy Qur'ān and Sunnah," [1] which rather positive statement was largely nullified by a provision in Article 198 (1), [2] negative in form, that "No law shall be enacted which is repugnant to the Injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Qur'ān and Sunnah, hereinafter referred to as Injunctions of Islam, and existing law shall be brought into conformity with such Injunctions," for many laws not repugnant to the Qur'ān and Sunnah would not necessarily be Islamic, since the Qur'ān and Sunnah do not by any means cover all possible cases. So instead of being Islamic, except in a very broad sense, the Constitution provided for a system of government patterned after so-called Western democracy, combining various elements taken from different western countries, but continuing chiefly the traditions received from the British. An official Government of Pakistan publication describes the different situation in the two countries which should have enabled any trained observer to foretell the failure of such a policy: "England had one of the highest percentages of literacy in the world;

[1] *The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan,* Government of Pakistan publication, Karachi, 1956, p. 1.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 59.

Pakistan one of the lowest. Feudalism had been liquidated in Britain and its evils eliminated; in Pakistan it existed in all its glory. There, the electorates knew their privileges and obligations and were free to act in the light of their knowledge. Here, even if the newly enfranchised individual knew what was right, he did not always have the freedom to go against his overlord. In England, local government was a long-established institution reaching out to all sections of the population... In Pakistan, it was of a much more recent origin, touching a fraction of the people in urban areas in matters essentially elementary. Above all, the British possessed a long and indigenous tradition of freedom and a history of struggle against social evils. Pakistan had just emerged as a free nation... The struggle against social ills had yet to be launched." [3]

The Constitution represented tried principles of democracy, tested over centuries of political progress, but these had progressed along with many other developments, industrial, social and political. Pakistan, like many other countries, had not had the development necessary for the success of the system, and when this was grafted on to a root unprepared for it, it simply did not "take."

At the same time that Pakistan was struggling with such political problems, there were other problems to be solved. The new country was thrown into the eddies and whirlpools of the modern world of international politics. It was striving to take a place of responsible participation in the United Nations. Also, in pre-independence days, most of Pakistan's raw materials were processed in places outside of the areas which came to be included in its boundaries. Sometimes these were far away in Great Britain, and sometimes near at hand in a now hostile, or at least suspicious, India. After the first chaotic months of new nationhood, industrialization began to take place at a rapid rate. Insecurity in the rural areas brought many people into the cities. Refugees from India were not, for the most part, farmers, and tended to gravitate to the cities and towns rather than to the villages, even though many of them had been allotted agricultural land. Housing programs took time to develop, and even yet are hardly commensurate with the need.

Even before the formulation of the Constitution, the inadequacy of the inherited system became apparent in the rapid succession of "governments" both at Karachi and in the provinces. Some came into power with more hope of success than others. All failed to achieve the stability the young nation needed so badly. Even after the Constitution had been declared accepted, there was no immediate plan put forward for elections, and when the date finally had been set, many difficulties hindered or prevented the preparation of the electoral rolls.

---

[3] *A Bold New System-Basic Democracies,* published by Pakistan Bureau of National Reconstruction, undated, p. 7-8.

Such was the situation when in October, 1958, martial law was declared, the Constitution was abrogated, and the present Revolutionary Government took office, headed by General Muhammad Ayub Khan who was the first Martial Law Administrator, and later became head of the state. In his first address to the nation, General Ayub Khan spoke of the desire of the new government to set up democratic processes. He declared that the abrogated Constitution had been unworkable, and promised the formulation of a new one more suited to the genius of the people of Pakistan, one which they could understand and work. Less than a year later, plans were announced for the introduction of a system of representative government based upon what have come to be called "Basic Democracies," and the first elections to the "Union Panchayats" or "Union Councils" were held in the autumn of the same year. The Government of Pakistan has issued two pamphlets describing the system, which are available from the Manager of Publications, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, or from Ministries or Embassies of Pakistan in other countries: (1) *Introduction of Basic Democracies in Pakistan* (15 pages), and (2) *A Bold New System-Basic Democracies* (15 pages). These pamphlets, together with notices in the public press with reference to the proposals, and personal knowledge gained from residence in Pakistan from 1947 to 1951 and from 1952 to 1959, form the basis of this present study of the Basic Democracies. Admittedly this is an experiment in a new type of representative government. All of the details are not yet clear, as will be seen. It will be of interest to all who are well-wishers of this comparatively new country of Pakistan to examine the suggestions, and many will wish to follow the fortunes of the experiment.

Description of the new system will involve the use of certain terms based on the existing administrative system in Pakistan, which should therefore be described in brief. After the consolidation of the various provinces in West Pakistan, just two provinces remained: East and West Pakistan. Each province is divided into a number of "Divisions." The chief administrative officer in each Division is the "Commissioner," who is a senior civil-service type career officer of wide experience. In pre-partition days, the Commissioner was usually, if not always, British. They are now, of course, all Pakistanis. Each Division is divided into "Districts," which are the basic units of administration, of taxation, and of judicial functions. The head of a District is a "Deputy Commissioner" in his administrative capacity, but who may also be called "District Magistrate" in relation to his judicial functions, or "Collector" of government revenues. He is assisted by a number of officials in each area of his responsibility. A District is divided into "Tehsils" in West Pakistan, or "Thanas" in East Pakistan. The word "Tehsil" will be recognized for its Arabic derivation, and is directly related to the "receiving" of revenues. There are usually four

HOLBROOK LIBRARY
PACIFIC SCHOOL

or five Tehsils in a District, with an administrative officer in charge of each, who is directly responsible to the Deputy Commission of the District. "Thana" is a word of Hindi derivation, and in West Pakistan, refers to a local police station. It may, and apparently does, have a different connotation for East Pakistan, where it seems to take the place of the Tehsil, at least in the system of Basic Democracies.

The principles underlying the suggestion for Basic Democracies are fundamental and democratic. Although people have the right to govern themselves, this is not practicable except through representatives. The people should have a right to choose representatives who are "capable and honest." In making the choice, the electors should be in a position to determine which possible representatives would be those who would promote the interests of the group as a whole, and this means they should be able to acquaint themselves with the qualifications of those from among whom the choice is to be made. In Pakistan, therefore, the "group as a whole" cannot be the whole people since with an illiteracy rate of some 83% and inadequate means of communication, individual electors would not be able to acquaint themselves with the qualifications of distant candidates. Therefore the group which elects its representatives must be a local group, and the basic unit must be essentially local. "It has, therefore, been decided to hold elections for closely-knit local areas with common problems and common environments so as to enable them to select those individuals on whom they can depend for managing the affairs of their locality." [4] There will ordinarily be one representative on such a "Union Council" for each 1,000 to 1,500 people. Each Union Council will have ten elected and five nominated members. The five nominated members will be named from special groups such as women or agricultural labour, or may be persons especially qualified to serve on the Council but who for various reasons did not choose to contest the election. The Union Council will elect its own chairman, who will preside over the meetings of the Council and represent it as a member of the next higher council in the system of government to be set up.

Within the area of its jurisdiction, the Union Council will have rather wide powers. These are described in *A Bold New System-Basic Democracies* (pp. 10-11), as follows:

"The Union Council will have executive, judicial and social functions and for these purposes it will have powers to levy taxes, with the concurrence of the commissioner, on real estate and agricultural land; on import and export of goods; on provisions, trade; on registration of births, marriages, etc; and on animals, vehicles and boats. It will be empowered also to impose taxes in the form of labour for community work and levy rates for employing additional police force and for executing works of public utility.

---

[4] *Introduction of Basic Democracies in Pakistan,* p. 5.

"The Council's executive will cover *inter alia* the administrative, municipal, development, and national reconstruction fields. It will also be responsible for Village Aid and the Co-operative Movement.

"A provision has been made under *Basic Democracies* for the appointment of a three-man Union *Adalat* (court) from amongst the membership of the Council for the administration of justice within the Union area. For this purpose, certain sections of the Penal Code and other laws have been brought under the *Adalat*'s jurisdiction.

"The Council will also prepare its Budget at the begining of each financial year to enable it to raise funds and incur expenditures on its activities."

Towns and cities will continue to have their municipal committees and boards, but here, too, bodies similar to the Union Councils will be set up. Matters ordinarily within the scope of municipal committees and cantonment boards will be excluded from the activities of the "Union Committee," which will deal mainly with such matters as "national reconstruction, social uplift, family planning and the determination of petty criminal or civil disputes." [5]

The second tier of councils will be called "Tehsil Councils" in West Pakistan, and "Thana Councils" in East Pakistan, the nomenclature being a carry over from the differences in administrative set-up between Bengal and the former provinces which were included by Partition in the area of West Pakistan.

The Tehsil/Thana Council will be composed of the chairmen of the Union Councils together with the chairmen of any municipal committee in existence in the area of the second-tier council. In addition there will be nominated members who may be government officials or non-officials, but whose total number will not be more than half of the number of representative members. The chairman of the Tehsil/Thana Council will be the officer in charge of the Tehsil in West Pakistan and the Thana in East Pakistan.

The chief responsibilities of the Tehsil/Thana Council will be development activities within the area. Its functions will be chiefly those of co-ordination, and its meetings will provide opportunities for the discussion of mutual problems.

The third tier will be the "District Councils." Their membership will be entirely nominated, with both officials and non-officials, but with the provision that the non-officials will not be less in number than the officials. At least one-half of the non-official members will be chosen from among the chairmen of the Union Councils and Town and Union Committees of the District.

The chairman of the District Council will in each case be the Deputy Commissioner, as the highest civil service officer in each District. Nominated official members may include chairmen of Tehsil/Thana Coun-

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

cils and municipal committees, vice-presidents of Cantonment Boards, or senior officers in government departments in the area.

The District Council will have both compulsory and voluntary functions. Those which it will undertake compulsorily will include: "the maintenance of primary schools, libraries and reading rooms; holding of fairs and shows, celebration of public festivals and promotion of public games and sports; provision and maintenance of public gardens and playgrounds and promotion of national reconstruction programmes; adoption of measures for increased food production and for improved breeds of cattle; promotion of Village Aid, the Cooperative Movement and village industries; provision of sanitation, prevention, regulation and control of infectious diseases, enforcement af vaccination and provision and maintenance of dispensaries and hospitals and other allied health measures; and provision, maintenance and improvement of public roads, culverts and bridges and arrangement of water supply." [6]

Its voluntary or optional functions may be in the fields of education, social and economic welfare, and public works and health.

The fourth tier is the "Divisional Council." Its membership will be divided equally between officials and non-officials. At least a quarter of its membership is to be made up of chairmen of the Union Councils and Town or Union committees. Its chairman will be the Commissioner of the Division.

In each of the two main divisions of the country there will be a Development Advisory Council, the membership of which will be divided equally between officials and non-officials. Its chairman will be the Governor of the Province. The non-official members will be appointed by the President of Pakistan, on recommendation of the Governor in each case. At least one-third of these will be chosen from among the chairmen of Union Councils and Committees. The Development Advisory Council has over-all supervisory functions in relation to the whole system in each section of the country. It will "formulate and co-ordinate the activities of local councils and local bodies in the province and draw up development plans for them. It will advise the government on matters relating to these bodies and on the allocation of grants to them for the execution of their development plans." [7] Although this Development Advisory Council appears to have a very important function in the system as a whole, it is not described, or even mentioned, in the Pamphlet *Introduction of Basic Democracies in Pakistan.*

It has been suggested that the elected members of the Union Councils may form the Electoral College for indirect elections to a national legislative assembly, or for the office of President, in case the new Constitution provides for such indirect elections. President Ayub Khan

---

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

was himself confirmed as President of Pakistan through such an election by members of the Union Councils by an overwhelming majority early in 1960.

One of the Pakistan Government pamphlets already referred to calls this a "bold new system," and it is just that. However one cannot but have reservations as to the actual working out of the system once it has been established. It is recognized that the final details have not been worked out, and so far, of course, only the Union Councils have come into existence. Criticism, which is intended to be constructive, falls easily into two divisions. One relates to the establishment of the Councils at the various levels, and the other to the overlapping of responsibility between the Councils and the existing civil service system.

As to the establishment of the Councils, it will be noted that elections take place only at the local level, and for only two-thirds of the members of the Union Council, which is the first tier. The other third (five out of the ordinarily ten members) are to be "nominated." There is no indication in any material I have seen as to who does the nominating. The terms "nominated" and "chosen" are then used continually in connection with the establishment of the Councils at the various levels, but who does the nominating and choosing is not indicated (except in the case of the non-official members of the Provincial Development Advisory Councils, who are to be appointed by the President of Pakistan). Provision may have been made for this, with the details not yet published, but in any case, this may prove to be a serious defect, since the "choosing" and "nominating" must, if the system is to succeed, be in the hands of persons of the highest sense of responsibility, who will further the best interests of the common people and of the country as a whole.

One finds it difficult to see how a clash between existing civil authority and the Councils can be avoided. As described above, the functions of the Union Council cover administrative and judicial areas, and may require the collecting of local taxes. It will require great wisdom to delimit the various areas of responsibility.

As indicated, a Union Council will appoint a three-man "court" for the administration of local justice. What will be the relation of this to the existing judicial system?

It is not my purpose to indicate that these obstacles are insurmountable. They can undoubtedly be solved, and it is entirely possible also that other problems will arise as the successive tiers are set up, but I do suggest that the material so far published on the establishment of the Basic Democracies leaves many problems still unsolved, the solution of which will take much time and effort on the part of those involved in setting up the system.

In spite of these obvious problems, which have perhaps already been taken up by those in a position to do so, the new government of Paki-

stan is to be congratulated for initiating an experiment of far more than local significance. Pakistan is only one of the many nations of the world which have evolved out of a colonial system which overlaid the colony with an administrative veneer unsuited to the genius of the people, and presupposed the successful working of democratic processes for which the people were not prepared. Pakistan has been willing to try something new, and this new departure may help other formerly colonial areas to evolve a system new in form, but based on fundamentally democratic concepts.

Lahore, Pakistan JAMES D. BROWN

MOSQUE AND SCHOOL IN TURKEY

Quite apart from political changes and economic pressures, Turkey's struggle to modernize and to free men's minds may be analyzed in terms of the village mosque and village school. In a very real sense the struggle at the grass-roots level has been personified in the struggle between village religious leader and school teacher for social status—and acceptance—within the rural community. It seems likely now, however, that a subtle adaptation of folk Islam to the modern world and of secular Turkish education to traditional society is taking place. It may be that Turkey has now moved beyond the point up to which serious conflict between traditional religious and modern secular values and institutions might be expected. But still serious problems remain. The purpose of this article is to explore what has been happening at the village level in both of these critical areas, religion and education.

PART I

THE PROBLEM OF RELIGION

Religion may seem far removed from economic development. Certainly most economists concerned with Turkish development have given religious problems short shrift. But is this unconcern realistic?

Religious orientation is related directly to the matter of balanced investment and absorptive capacity in Turkey, for traditionally religion has weakened seriously both the desire for secular education and technical skills and the push of economic incentive.

It was under the Republican People's Party regime in 1949 and early 1950 that the first moves were made in the direction of greater religious liberalism. Religious lessons were introduced into the primary schools, a faculty of theology authorized at the University of Ankara, and ten schools for worship leaders and preachers inaugurated. The latter institutions were designed to train men for careers as village religious leaders (*hoca*). Significantly, these educational moves were made under the direction of the secular-oriented Ministry of Education, not under the Presidency of Religious Affairs, the government office administering the religious hierarchy. [1] Undermining any political capital the People's Party might have generated out of these moves, however, was the fact that just prior to the 1950 election the Government was forced to arrest and try a popular religious leader, one Kemal Pilavoğlu, who was known as the sheikh of the Ticani sect. The Turkish secret police estimated at the time that he had some 300,000 followers. [2] In

[1] Source of estimate is confidential but is believed to be reliable. See Robinson, R.D., "Official Religion in Turkey," (Institute of current World Affairs, New York, May 1, 1952).

[2] See Reed, H. A., "Turkey's New Imam-Hatip Schools" (*The World of Islam,* N.S. Vol. IV, N. 2-3, 1955); Morgan, H. L., "Turkish Textbook on Islam" (*The Muslim World,* Vol. XLVI, No. 1, January 1956); Reed, H. A., "The Faculty of Divinity at Ankara" (*The Muslim World,* Vol. XLVI, No. 4, October 1956 for pt. 1, Vol. XLVII, No. 1, January 1957, for pt. 2).

1951, statues of Ataturk in various parts of the country were smashed, apparently by unhappy Ticanis. The new regime reacted by arresting scores of persons, most of whom were members of several of the outlawed religious sects—Nakşibendi, Nur, Bektaşi, Bahâi, and Kadiri, as well as Ticani. Sentences were generally light, three to six months each, though Pilavoğlu himself remained behind bars for seven and a half years. [3] More recently, the Nur sect has been increasingly active, and a number of members have been arrested. Since 1950, it would appear that possibly 500 persons have been arrested in Turkey for religious offenses and held for varying periods of time.

It remains a criminal offense in Turkey to use religion for political purposes, to establish an organization on a religious basis, to proselytize, or to defame the memory of Mustafa Kemal. The legal problem has been to prove that members of the various religious groups were in fact conducting themselves in an illegal fashion. Of course, the mere fact of their existence as organized groups was contrary to the law, but particularly since 1950 the authorities have been inclined to overlook them so long as they desisted from direct political involvement, from preaching disloyalty to secular government, and from openly attacking the memory of Kemal.

Soon after coming to power, the Democratic Party administration lifted the ban against giving the call to prayer in Arabic, extended the religious lessons offense in the public schools, improved the maintenance of town and city mosque, reinaugurated courses to train those who have committed the Qur'ān to memory, and increased the number of schools for worship leaders to nineteen. [4] The leaders saw that with the small towns, the older, more conservative village religious leaders might well gain pre-eminence over the young, village school teachers in terms of village influence. To reintroduce police surveillance and pressure in the pre-1950 style was politically unwise in a bi-partisan state. The way out was to train, as fast as possible, a new generation of village religious leaders who would be oriented very differently from their elders. It has been no coincidence that the curriculum in these training schools has been heavily weighted (two-thirds) on the side of non-religious subjects—history, science, foreign language, etc. It now seems likely that licenses to practice as village religious leaders will be limited to

---

[3] For a description of religious events of this period, see Lewis, B., "Islamic Revival in Turkey" (*International Affairs,* Vol. XXVIII, 1952); Reed, H. A., "Revival of Islam in Secular Turkey" (*Middle East Journal,* Vol. 8, No. 3, Summer 1952); and Rustow, D. A., "Politics and Islam in Turkey, 1920-1955" (*Islam and the West,* Frye, R. N., ed., Mouton Company, 1957), pp. 90-107.

[4] In 1960, the administration boasted of its accomplishments in the field of religion. Since 1950, the number of professional teachers of the Qur'ān had been increased from 131 to 702 (plus 1500 part-time instructors), 2055 *hafiz* had been trained, and some 30,000 students were reported to be attending the courses on the Qur'ān. (*Zafer,* February 25, 1960). The government was also, by 1960, donating money to the villages (1000 to 5000 lira each) for the construction and maintenance of local mosques. (*Zafer,* March 1, 1960).

graduates of these schools as they become available in significant numbers. This is just now beginning to happen. Gradually, it is hoped, the elderly, black-frocked, turbaned *hocas,* who represent the old mentality, will fade away.

Indeed, a new generation of enlightened religious leaders at the grass-roots level could be a significant force in Turkish development. A provisional governor once commented to the author the great influence men of religious standing might have, particularly in the villages and small towns. "I once had a veterinary on my staff," he recalled, "who had been a *hafiz.*" When he went into a village, he first delivered a sermon and then spoke of the benefits of raising Merinos sheep (an improved breed that the government was trying to induce the people to raise). "Use of religious leaders in all fields can be very useful," he concluded.

If a *secular* Turkey survives the next ten to fifteen years without serious subversion from its religious conservatives, there will probably be no further cause for alarm on this quarter. Meanwhile, whatever party is in power faces a delicate choice whenever there is a religious eruption of a subversive nature. Should the police power be used or not? If "yes" the victims may be martyrized and their popular following strengthened. Also, the party in power may lose precious votes. So long as popular support is fairly evenly balanced between the major parties, as is now the case between the Democratic and People's Parties, the administration may be understandably reluctant to use force against conservative religious groups. Yet, there may come times at which no progressively-minded leadership can afford to remain inactive. The hope is that the suppression of reactionary religious activities will continue to have support from the leaders of all major parties. But as tempers mount and inter-party frictions grow hotter, it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain this statesmanlike poise.

Meanwhile, Islam itself is undergoing a subtile transformation even on the village level. Economic incentive, material well-being, innovation, the machine, commerce and social change no longer appear as challengers to religion. A village in process of building a 100,000-lira mosque, I found, was likewise proud of its neat, well-attended secular school, of its twelve shops, of its two coffee-houses, of its skilled workmen, of its tractors. The new mosque did not, in this community at least, represent religious reaction, for the villagers talked incessantly of the material improvements in their lives and of those to come. An accommodation between folk-Islam and modern life, one suspected, was taking place. Religious activity could no longer be equated with reaction against the secular, Western-oriented regime. It would perhaps be a mistake to over-intellectualize the process at this point.

The Islamic scholar W. C. Smith, has observed:

> One thing seems sure, if a Luther—to borrow their own [i.e., that of some Turkish individuals] metaphor—were to appear, he

> would get a ready hearing amongst the educated class of Turkey. Emotionally and intellectually, sociologically and religiously, they seem ready to follow new ventures of Islamic development. However, whether such a reform will indeed appear another matter. Can one generate a Reformation by fiat?—even when providing the milieu? [5]

One point is that a Protestant-like accommodation between Islam and the modern world is, in fact, taking place in Turkey, and this process is a matter of enormous consequence in economic terms as well as social. The prestige and motivation provided by traditional folk-Islam is being identified with new skills and incentives. It should be recalled that even in purely traditional terms, Islamic predestination can be a force for both resignation to an apparently inevitable fate and for enormous effort to achieve one's manifest destiny.

Harvard University, RICHARD D. ROBINSON
Cambridge, Massachusetts

---

[5] Smith, W. C., *Islam in Modern History* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1957), p. 205.

THE APOLOGETIC APPROACH OF MUHAMMAD ALI AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS

During the early decades of the present century Christian apologetics, one of the three traditional divisions of systematic theology, suffered a considerable loss of popularity and prestige. Reactionary defenders of the faith such as William Jennings Bryan (at the Scopes evolution trial in 1925) disgusted laymen and clergymen alike. The growing strength of Protestant modernism, with its tolerant attitude toward religious differences, was heralded by the publication of such works as *"Yes, But—"; the Bankruptcy of Apologetics,* by Willard L. Sperry, Dean of the Harvard Divinity School;[1] as well as by the various volumes of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, which attempted to redefine the goal of missionary activity in terms of cooperative interaction among the various world religions.[2] In spite of modernism's decreasing influence following World War II, the average American seems still to believe that

> It doesn't ... make too much difference whether you are Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, or, for that matter, Hindu or Mohammedan. They are all different ways to the same goal. Basically they follow the same moral code and the religious uplift is the same.... Probably the religion of the future will succeed in incorporating the best insights of them all. Christian missionaries, therefore, should not impose their views on others but should rather sit at a round table and pool their views for the good of all. Confucius, Lao-tse, Asoka, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and then finally Jesus! These are the great leaders of mankind.[3]

Those whose thinking operates on a more logical and less emotional basis have seldom been satisfied with this kind of approach, however. The various religions of the world maintain vital beliefs which are reciprocally contradictory—tenets which are absolutely irreconcilable in many instances. To the Christian, Jesus is "Very God of Very God"; to the Jew or the Muslim, this is blasphemy. To the Christian, human sin was dealt with on the Cross by substitutionary atonement; to the Eastern believer in *karma* and to the adherent of Islam such a concept is not only meaningless, but positively immoral. Obviously, such opposing views as these cannot both be right; both views may be wrong, but both cannot be correct. Since, moreover, eternal salvation (or, at

---

[1] Issued in 1931 by Harper and Brothers, New York.

[2] *Re-thinking Missions* was published in 1932. In 1933, the Inquiry issued the *Regional Reports of the Commission of Appraisal* (3 vols.), and the *Fact-finders' Reports* (4 vols.). William Ernest Hocking, professor of philosophy at Harvard, headed the Inquiry. Cf. the latter's *Living Religions and a World Faith* (1940).

[3] Martin J. Heinecken, "False Hopes and the Gospel," in *Christian Social Responsibility* Vol. 1 (*Existence Today*), ed. by Harold C. Letts (Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, c 1957), p. 131.

a minimum, earthly happiness) is in most religious systems made contingent upon right belief, the verification of a religion becomes a matter of no little importance. Recognition of this fact in Christian circles appears to be on the upswing again—especially in the face of Marxian attempts to discredit Christian theology. "The problems of the present have moved to a deep level which calls ... for apologetics ...; and there are evidences that apologists are recovering their nerve and their freedom to operate, while the self-confidence of those who turned rather to the philosophy of religion is no longer so daunting." [4]

The need for a virile Christian apologetic in our day gives good reason for our stepping outside the Christian frame of reference to observe the apologetic approach of a modern adherent of a non-Christian religion. An examination of his arguments will yield valuable information, both directly and indirectly, with regard to what constitutes a meaningful and valid religious apologetic. The non-Christian apologist chosen for study here is Muhammad Ali, of Islam's Ahmadiyya movement.

THE MAN AND HIS MOVEMENT

Maulvi, or Maulana, Muhammad Ali, [5] M.A., LL.B., has been termed "a liberally educated, devout Moslem," [6] and "one of the great leaders of Muslim India in the decade after the First World War." [7] He was an "advocate of all-Indian unity and of Pan-Islam, a thinker to whom the idea of Pakistan, or any 'Islamistan,' would have been anathema." [8] He founded the National Moslem University of Aligarh (*Jamia Millia Islamia*) in order to "turn out not only young men of culture according to modern standards, but also true Mussulmans imbued with the spirit of Islam, and possessing enough knowledge of their religion to be able to stand by themselves as sufficiently independent units in the army of Islam's missionaries." [9] Muhammad Ali has been a prolific writer; the following are his most important works: *Muḥammad the Prophet; Early Caliphate; The Babi Religion; Manual of Ḥadīth; New World Order; The Living Thoughts of the Prophet Muḥammad; My Life—A Fragment; Select Letters and Speeches* (ed. by Afzal Iqbal); *An Urdu Commentary of the Holy Qurʾān; An*

---

[4] Andrew K. Rule, "Apologetics," in *Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge; an Extension of the New Schaff-Herzog,* ed. by L. A. Loetscher (Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, c 1955), Vol. 1, p. 53. Note the publication in 1947 of Alan Richardson's *Christian Apologetics.*

[5] No attempt will be made in this paper to utilize an oficial system of diacritical marks in transliterating Arabic proper names.

[6] Robert Ernest Hume, *The World's Living Religions,* rev. ed. (New York, Scribner, c 1924), p. 292.

[7] Kenneth Cragg, *The Call of the Minaret* (New York, Oxford University Press, c 1956), p. 252.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Paraphrased from Muhammad Ali's *A Scheme of Studies for National Muslim Educational Institutions in India,* pp. 4, 5, by Murray T. Titus, in chap. 7 ("The Reaction of Moslem India to Western Islam") of *The Moslem World of To-day,* ed. by John R. Mott (New York, Doran, 1925), p. 106.

Urdu Commentary of Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī; The Religion of Islam; The Holy Qur'ān, Containing the Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary. The latter work is cited by Hume as one of five standard English translations of the entire Qur'ān,[10] and is listed as one of the three authoritative English translations of the Qur'ān in C. M. Winchell's basic *Guide to Reference Books,* 7th ed.[11]

Muhammad Ali's leadership in the Lahore branch of the Muslim Ahmadiyya movement makes it important to outline briefly the history and aims of that group. James Thayer Addison, sometime professor of the history of religion and missions in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, writes of the Ahmadiyya:

> It began with the activity of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in the village of Qadian, in the Punjab. In 1891 this Sunni Mohammedan declared himself to be ... the coming Mahdi. Though condemned by the mullahs as a heretic, he maintained for the next seventeen years a vigorous propaganda in support of his claims. Three years after his death in 1908, his followers were estimated at nearly 50,000. In 1914 the sect split into two divisions, since known as the Qadian group and the Lahore group .... The Lahore party, more free in its tendencies, is despised by the Qadiani.... In keeping with their wider ambitions, they refer to their founder not as the Messiah but only as a reformer. Both parties are distinguished for their missionary zeal. Missions of one or of both sects are to be found not only in every province of India, but also in such areas as the Malay States, West Africa, and Palestine, where Moslems live under European control.... Both wings of the Ahmadiyya are busy in the production of literature and the promotion of reforms and they offer to the young Moslem today his best chance for fellowship with a community, which, though heterodox, is thoroughly alive and in many directions progressive. The whole movement, it should be added, is markedly and often bitterly anti-Christian.[12]

Reference to the Ahmadiyya movement as "heterodox" should not lead us to believe that Muhammad Ali and other members of the Lahore society are presenting a fundamentally unique variety of Islam. The adherents of the Lahore Ahmadiyya "have tended to come steadily closer to orthodoxy."[13] Moreover, their "heterodoxy" seems to lie chiefly in their attempt to understand the Qur'ān without the accre-

---

[10] Hume, *loc. cit.*

[11] (Chicago, American Library Association, c. 1951), p. 144.

[12] J. T. Addison, *The Christian Approach to the Moslem: a Historical Study* (New York, Columbia University Press, c 1942), pp. 209-10. Cf. also Samuel Graham Wilson, *Modern Movements among Moslems* (New York, Revell, c 1916), pp. 132-39; H. A. Walter, *The Ahmadiya Movement* (London Oxford, 1918); Stanley Brush, "Aḥmadiyyat in Pakistan, *The Muslim World,* April, 1955; W. C. Smith, article "Aḥmadiyya," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* new edition.

[13] Cragg, *op. cit.,* p. 249.

tions of tradition,[14] and to engage in aggressive missionary activity. The Ahmadiyya movement is "the only Moslem group seriously trying to convert Western Christians";[15] that this should produce inter-Muslim conflict is understandable when one recalls the historic apathy of Islam to non-violent propagation of the faith. Consider, for example, the following statements in McMurtrie's widely-used history of printing:

> Islam, in marked contrast to Buddhism, was uncompromisingly opposed to the reduplication of its sacred writings through the medium of print. The reason for this opposition is not clear, but in all probability it was simply religious conservatism. The Koran had been given to the Moslems in written form, and writing, therefore, was the only means by which it might ever be transmitted. To this day the Koran has never been printed from type in any Mohammedan country; it is always reproduced by lithography.[16]

THE CONTENT OF MUHAMMAD ALI'S APOLOGETIC

Having obtained an overview of Muhammad Ali and the movement with which he has been identified, let us examine in detail his defense of Islam. Muhammad Ali's two main writings will be utilized in this connection: his edition and translation of the Qurʾān,[17] and his systematic presentation of *The Religion of Islam.*[18] One who studies these

---

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[15] Addison, *op. cit.*, p. 209. An exception may be made to groups working among negroes in the United States. Consult: C. Umhau Wolf, "Muslims in the American Mid-West," *The Muslim World,* Jan., 1960; C. Braden, "Islam in America," *International Review of Missions,* July, 1959; C. Braden, "Moslem Missions in America," *Religion in Life,* summer, 1959; N. Makdisi, "The Moslems of America," *The Christian Century,* August 26, 1959.

[16] Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Book; the Story of Printing and Bookmaking,* 3rd rev. ed. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, c 1943), p. 93. The strictly orthodox Muslim Marmaduke Pickthall is careful not to title his English translation of the Qurʾān simply *The Koran,* or *The Glorious Koran,* but rather *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (New York, Knopf, 1930). He states in his Foreword, "The Koran cannot be translated. That is the belief of old-fashioned Sheykhs and the view of the present writer." [Yet A. A. Paton, in his *A History of the Egyptian Revolution* (London, Trubner, 1870, second ed. enlarged, Vol. II, p. 245) wrote: "The printing of the Koran has always been resisted by the Ulema as unlawful; but, for the first time in the history of Islamism, an edition of the Koran was set up in type, and the Mufti of Cairo, Sheikh-el-Temimy, was asked to set his seal of permission upon it in order to ensure its sale." Ed.]

[17] This work has gone through three editions containing Arabic text and English translation (1st ed., Woking, England, Islamic Review, 1917; 2d ed., Lahore, Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Islam, and Woking and London, Unwin, 1920; 3d ed., Lahore, Almadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Islam, 1935); and two editions without the Arabic text and with abridged notes have been published (in 1928 and 1934). References in this paper will in all cases be to the unabridged 3d ed., a copy of which I obtained from Lahore, together with Muhammad Ali's *Religion of Islam.*

[18] I shall refer to the latest edition: *The Religion of Islam; a Comprehensive*

two volumes discovers that the author's apologetic for Islam has a negative and a positive side; negatively, Islam's chief rival, Christianity, is criticized; positively, the claim is made that Islam harmonizes with the modern scientific and philosophical *Weltanschauung,* possesses a divinely inspired scripture, and is experientially self-attesting. Each of these apologetic arguments will now be set forth.

Christianity a false religion. Samuel M. Zwemer, late missionary to Islam, well characterized the general Ahmadiyya attitude toward Christianity when he wrote: "The old Islam honoured Jesus Christ as a great prophet, and although it denied his deity and atoning death it always acknowledged his sinlessness and virgin birth. The New Islam denies the sinlessness of Jesus, mocks at the virgin birth, and offers proof from the writings of infidels and from modern destructive criticism that the Bible is a tissue of fables and myths. It is painful to read the articles written on these subjects by men who in some cases are graduates of Christian colleges." [19] Both Ahmadiyya groups have rejected the traditional belief (orthodox but not Quranic) "which had come into Islam after its expansion, relating to Christ as returning from Heaven to the world in order to subdue anti-Christ and bring in a Muslim millennial state of bliss and righteousness." [20] Although Muhammad Ali is by no means as crass in his criticisms of Christianity as some Ahmadiyya writers, [21] his position is nevertheless strongly negative toward the New Testament and toward Christian views of Christ. To be sure, Jesus was sinless, for he was a prophet, and all prophets are without sin; but in his moral purity Jesus did not differ at all from Adam or Moses or John the Baptist, who were also prophets (*Holy Qur'ān,* pp. 159-62, 612, 615; *Religion of Islam,* pp. 232-40). Christian theology has made a grievous error in asserting that Jesus is the unique Son of God (*Holy Qur'ān,* pp. 272-74). The Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus never took place (he did not actually die as a result of crucifixion, but much later suffered a natural death); the Second Coming of Christ is an unwarranted hope (*Holy Qur'ān,* pp. 241-44; *Religion of Islam,* p. 262). "Recent criticism has shown that the Christians have only followed previous idolatrous nations in deifying a man" (*Holy Qur'ān,* p. 274). The Christian church has been led to these false beliefs by strict reliance upon the Bible as historically accurate. However, "modern criticism of the Bible, together with the accessibility of ancient manuscripts, has now established

Discussion of the Sources, Principles and Practices of Islam, 2d ed. (Lahore, Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Ishaat Islam, 1950 2d ed. first pub. in 1935).

[19] Samuel M. Zwemer, *Across the World of Islam: Studies in Aspects of the Mohammedan Faith and in the Present Awakening of the Moslem Multitudes* (New York, Revell, c 1929), p. 28.

[20] Cragg, *op. cit.,* p. 250.

[21] E.g. those who have written for the periodical, *Review of Religions.* See Canon H. U. Weitbrecht, "Reform Movements in India," chap. 19 of *Islam and Missions,* ed. by Wheery, Zwemer, and Mylrea (New York, Revell, c 1911), p. 281; and Zwemer, *op. cit.,* p. 29.

the fact that many alterations were made in it.... Even the Gospels are admitted to have been altered. The original Gospel of Jesus Christ is nowhere to be found.... Many ... examples of changes made in the text can be quoted.... Commenting on ... Mk. 10: 17, Dummelow [*The One Bible Commentary* (London, Macmillan, 1913)] says ...: 'The author of Matthew ... altered the text slightly, to prevent the reader from supposing that Christ denied that He was good'" (*Religion of Islam,* pp. 212-14).

Islam philosophically and scientifically sound. In Muhammad Ali's opinion, Islam, more than any other religion, accords with the dynamic, evolutionary world-view of twentieth-century science and philosophy. He writes: "With the advent of Islam, religion has received new significance. Firstly, it is to be treated not as a dogma, which a man must accept if he will escape everlasting damnation, but as a science based on the universal experience of humanity. It is not this or that nation that becomes the favourite of God and the recipient of Divine revelation; on the contrary, revelation is recognized as a necessary factor in the evolution of man. Hence while in its crudest form it is the universal experience of humanity, in its highest, that of prophetical revelation, it has been a Divine gift bestowed upon all nations of the world. And the idea of the scientific in religion has been further strengthened by presenting its doctrines as principles of action. There is not a single doctrine of religion which is not made the basis of action for the development of man to higher and yet higher stages of life. Secondly, the sphere of religion is not confined to the next world; its primary concern is rather with this life, and that man, through a righteous life here on earth, may attain to the consciousness of a higher existence" (*Rel. of Islam,* pp. 5-6).

The Qurʾān divinely inspired. Muhammad Ali is at pains to demonstrate that the Qurʾān, in its origin, transmission, arrangement, and lofty subject matter, is indeed the final revelation of God to men (*Holy Qurʾān,* Preface, pp. xxviii-xcii; *Rel. of Islam,* pp. 17-57). It is asserted that the Qurʾān contains no discrepancies; the theory of abrogation (not entirely dissimilar to the Christian notion of "progressive revelation") is rejected (*Rel. of Islam,* pp. 35-44; *Holy Qurʾān,* pp. lxxv-xcii). Muhammad Ali's translation of the Qurʾān tries, within the limits of Arabic vocabulary and syntax, to tone down difficult passages and thus to provide the twentieth-century reader with a more scientifically and historically palatable text. For example, Muhammad Ali removes any notion of miracle from the statement of Joseph in Egypt to his brothers as given in Surah 12: 93. Sale has, "Depart ye with this my inner garment, and throw it on my father's face; and he shall recover his sight";[22] Rodwell has, "Go ye with this my

[22] *The Koran,* tr. by George Sale; 8th ed. (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1878), p. 198 (second numeration).

shirt and throw it on my father's face, and he shall recover his sight";[23] Pickthall has, "Go with this shirt of mine and lay it on my father's face, he will become (again) a seer";[24] but Muhammad Ali renders the verse, "Take this my shirt and cast is before my father, he will come to know" (*Holy Qur'ān,* p. 493). Professor Arthur Jeffery is unjust in citing this as evidence that Muhammad Ali's translation is "doctored" and "forced" (because Muhammad Ali goes against the traditional understanding of the passage);[25] the Arabic word *baṣīr* can mean either "one who sees things with the eyes" or "one endowed with mental perception, one knowing," as Pickthall's mediating translation indicates. But we do have in Muhammad Ali's version an obvious apologetic attempt to make the Qur'ān relevant to the modern mind. The fulfilment of Quranic prophecy is cited by Muhammad Ali as a further proof of the Qur'ān's divine origin. Particular emphasis is placed upon the prophecy of Islam's triumph. "The Holy Qur'ān gives prominence to the great prophecy of the triumph of Islam, and its earlier chapters are full of such prophecies uttered in various forms. Now these chapters were revealed, and these prophecies announced, at a time when the Holy Prophet was quite alone and helpless, beset by enemies on all sides plotting to put an end to his very life.... Yet under these circumstances, amid all this despair on every side, we find prophecy after prophecy announced in the surest and most certain terms to the effect that the great forces of opposition should be brought to naught, that the enemies of Islam should be put to shame and perish, that Islam should become the religion of the whole of Arabia, that the empire of Islam should be established and battles be fought in which the Muslims should be victorious and the enemy brought low, that Islam should spread to the farthest corners of the earth and that it should ultimately be triumphant over all religions of the world.... Was not all this brought to fulfilment, against all expectations, in the lifetime of the Holy Prophet?" (Rel. of Islam, pp. 248-50).

Islam experientially verifiable. Muhammad Ali makes every effort to stress the simplicity of, and the pragmatic values inherent in, the Muslim faith.[26] "The Islamic beliefs are really axiomatic truths upon which are based the moral and spiritual aspects of the life of man.... The precepts of Islam which inculcate duties towards God and duties towards man are based on that deep knowledge of human nature which cannot be possessed but by the Author of that nature. They cover

---

[23] *The Koran,* tr. by J. M. Rodwell (London, Dent; New York, Dutton [Everyman's Library, no. 380], 1909), p. 238.

[24] *Op. cit.,* p. 246.

[25] Arthur Jeffery, "New Trends in Moslem Apologetic," chap. 20 of Mott, *op. cit.,* pp. 318-19. Comments of the Baidawi and Jallalo'ddin on the passage in question are given by Sale, *loc. cit.*

[26] Cragg, *op. cit.,* pp. 252, 305-06.

the whole range of the different grades of the development of man, and are thus wonderfully adapted to the requirements of different peoples. In the Holy Qur'ān are found guiding rules for the ordinary man of the world as well as for the philosopher, and for communities in the lowest grade of civilization as well as for the highly civilized nations of the world. Practicability is the keynote of its precepts, and thus the same universality which marks its principles of faith is to be met with in its practical ordinances, suiting as they do the requirements of all ages and nations" (*Holy Qur'ān,* p. xiii).

A CRITIQUE OF MUHAMMAD ALI'S APOLOGETIC AND ITS BEARING UPON THE CHRISTIAN *DEFENSIO FIDEI*

MUHAMMAD ALI CRITICIZED

Arguments in support of a religious viewpoint normally fall into one of two general categories, the rational or the empirical. A rational apologetic attempts to show that the religious belief is philosophically sound and conforms to the best dictates of reason, while an empirical apologetic tries to prove that the religion harmonizes with factual experience. Empirical arguments can be objective or subjective in nature, depending upon whether harmony with external experience (history, physical and natural science) or conformity with internal (psychological) experience is being stressed.[27] The following table summarizes the most common apologetic arguments used to support religious conceptions, and classifies these arguments according to their rational or empirical character.

	Empirical Defenses	
Rational Defenses	(*Objective*)	(*Subjective*)
1. The religion is deducible from self-evident *a prioris.*	1. The scriptures (or doctrines) of the religion fit the historical and scientific facts of experience.	1. The religion is pragmatically sound.
2. The religion conforms to the philosophical viewpoint or presuppositions generally accepted (the philosophical *Zeitgeist*).	2. The religion has given rise to valid prophecies of future events.	2. The religion is personally meaningful and self-validating in the life of the believer
3. The scriptures (or doctrines) of the religion are internally self-consistent.	3. The religion has given rise to valid miraculous happenings.	3. The religion gives rise to answered prayer. (May be an objectively empirical argument.)

[27] Strictly speaking, all apologetic arguments are rational in type, for Kant has shown that philosophical presuppositions precede all forms of empirical inquiry. However, the *a prioris* of empirical investigation (to be distinguished sharply from those of logical positivism) are of a simple, self-evident variety, and instead

Muhammad Ali's attempt at refuting Christianity does not fit into the table of apologetic arguments at any point. The reason for this is simply that such refutations are not "apologies" or defenses at all, but are *ad hominem* arguments of an offensive nature. Even if one were to grant that Muhammad Ali had disproven Christianity, this would not add a grain of evidence in support of Islam, for Islam (and all other religions, for that matter) could still be false. The falsity of one religion, in other words, is no proof of the truth of another. Unfortunately, the Ahmadiyya movements have been almost totally blind to this fact in their propaganda activities.

Muhammad Ali does not, strictly speaking, try to show that Islam is deducible from self-evident *a prioris,* for he recognizes that the Muslim faith is based on historical revelation. However, as we have seen, he does claim that Islam conforms to the activistic, evolutionary *Weltanschauung* of modern scientific and cultural philosophy. Unlike the medieval Averroës, who, in his treatise, *The Agreement of Religion and Philosophy,* asserted that the Aristotelian philosophy of his time could not be reconciled with Quranic teaching,[28] Muhammad Ali affirms that contemporary secular thought and Islamic doctrine blend perfectly. The fallacy in such an argument as this lies in the fact that the philosophical scene is kaleidoscopic—that the *Zeitgeist* is never an absolute. The static universe of one era became the relativistic, evolutionary universe of the next; and who is to say what cosmological views future generations will hold? Conformity to current philosophical views (even if granted) is therefore no proof of the validity of a religion. A second rational argument presented by Muhammad Ali is his claim that the Qur'ān is internally consistent—that it contains no internal contradictions. This apologetic is likewise of little consequence, for the self-consistency of a writing does not prove that it is divine revelation; Euclid's Geometry, for example, is not self-contradictory at any point, but no one claims that this work is therefore divinely inspired in some unique sense.

When we consider Muhammad Ali's objectively empirical defenses of Muslim faith, we find that he employs arguments 1. and 2. as given in the table above, but not argument 3. Miracles, he believes, are next to impossible to prove, and therefore of little attesting value;[29] more-

---

of precluding discovery and intellectual progress, seem to provide valuable tools for investigative activity. Therefore, it appears wise to retain the distinction between rational and empirical arguments—a distinction incidentally, which is fundamental in understanding the role and development of modern science.

[28] See Etienne Gilson, *Reason and Revelation of the Middle Ages* (New York, Scribner, c 1938), chap. 2.

[29] "There is one great disadvantage attaching to all miracles which are merely manifestations of power. It is very difficult to secure reliable evidence for them under all circumstances... Another difficulty in the matter of miracle generally is to be found in the fact that however wonderful a performance, it may be explained scientifically, and thus lose all value as a sign of the Divine mission of its workers" (*Rel. of Islam,* p. 246).

over, "the Holy Qur'ān makes it clear that the bringing about of a transformation is the real object for which prophets are raised up, that this object is attained by several means, each of which, therefore, has but a secondary value, and that among these evidences of the truth of the Prophet the miracle occupies not the highest place" (*Rel. of Islam,* p. 243). For Muhammad Ali, "the greatest miracle of Islam is the Holy Qur'ān" (*ibid.,* p. 244), and therefore he is concerned, as we have seen, to show that the Qur'ān is scientifically and historically sound, and contains true prophecies. To demonstrate that a writing is accurate in its historic and scientific statements, however, no more proves that it is divinely inspired than when one shows that the volume is internally consistent. Numerous accurate scientific and historical treatises have been written which lay no claim to divine inspiration, and for which no such claim has been made by their readers. With regard to the evidential value of prophecy, one is on more solid ground—if fulfilled prophecy of sufficient worth can be marshaled. But the qualification just stated poses a real problem, for many prophecies of the Delphic oracle variety have been made through history. Moreover, the Quranic prophecy of Islam's ultimate triumph is of little significance, for though Islam experienced a very rapid early spread, the later history of the religion has been anything but triumphant.[30] In 1924, in fact, a member of the Ahmadiyya movement stated in London: "We, the present-day Moslems, have indeed fallen on evil days. Our past glory has forsaken us. Our might, our honour, have deserted us."[31]

Muhammad Ali's main apologetic thrust is in the area of subjectively empirical argument. "The supreme object before the Prophet is to effect a moral and spiritual transformation; the means adopted are an appeal to the reasoning faculty, an appeal to the heart of man to convince him that the Divine message is meant for his own uplift, and lessons drawn from previous history showing how the acceptance of truth has always benefited man, and its rejection has worked to his own undoing" (*Rel. of Islam,* p. 243). The difficulty with pragmatic arguments for a religion is that truths do not always work, and beliefs that work are by no means always true. Job's religious beliefs, though presumably true, did not give him uninterrupted peace of mind; and many besides Faust have discovered that the father of lies makes an effective business partner. Subjective attestation for a religion has the engaging advantage of becoming meaningful only if the individual actually attempts to believe

---

[30] See, for example, the chapters on "Why the Spread of Islam Was Stayed" and "Low Position of Islam in the Scale of Civilization" in *Two Old Faiths,* by J. M. Mitchell and William Muir (New York, Chautauque Press, 1891), pp. 125-52; and the section on "The Islamic Empire and Its Dissolution" in Carl Brockelmann's *History of the Islamic Peoples,* tr. by Carmichael and Perlmann (New York, Putnam, c. 1947), p. 107 ff.

[31] Quoted in Zwemer, *op. cit.,* pp. 15-16.

in the religion—and then, of course, no further apologetic is necessary. But the intelligent person, faced with a welter of religious options, needs objective, external ground for trying a religion, and he is morally within his rights to refuse to become emotionally involved in a religion without good reason to do so. Such "good reason" must of course lie in a realm other than the subjectively empirical, if a neat case of circular reasoning is to be avoided.

LESSONS FOR CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS

The reader has undoubtedly been impressed (as has the writer) with the similarity between many of Muhammad Ali's arguments for Islam and the defenses for the Christian faith presented by not a few Christian theologians. It is safe to say that the type of theologian of whom I speak would have been only too quick to agree with the criticisms of Muhammad Ali set forth above; one wonders, however, if the great truth would have dawned that a fallacious argument is fallacious regardless of who employs it and regardless of the context in which it is used.

Specifically: No religion is deducible from self-evident *a prioris,* or all men in their right mind would hold the same faith. [32] Conformity to the philosophical *Zeitgeist* is no evidence for the truth of a religion—regardless of what religion it is. Internal consistency and external fitting of the facts do not prove a sacred book to be God's revelation—even if that book be the Bible. The reasonableness of religious doctrines does not prove them true (for God is presumably above reason, since he is the author of logic), nor does it prove them false (*credo quia absurdum* is a ridiculous formula, even if reiterated by a modern philosopher of Kierkegaard's stature). Pragmatic arguments for a religion are weak and positively misleading—even if Norman Vincent Peale asserts them again in behalf of Christianity. The appeal to "try such-and-such religion and you will find it self-authenticating in your heart of hearts" is the mark of apologetic debility, for such claims can be made by everyone from Muhammad Ali to Father Divine without fear of refutation (there being no possible refutation for individual experience).

It is time that Christian apologists came to realize that a string of individually weak arguments for the Gospel does not comprise one strong argument for it. Objective empirical evidence for Jesus Christ and his message is the only truly valid Christian apologetic possible, for it alone is subject to the canons of evidence employed in other fields of endeavor. And what objectively empirical ground for accepting the Christian Gospel is there? Muhammad Ali himself states it when he writes, "If Jesus did not rise from the dead, the pillar on which the

---

[32] Only deductive logic and theoretical mathematics, among human disciplines, are deduced from self-evident presuppositions, and these areas, it should be carefully observed, deal with no matters-of-fact at all, but only with conceptual relationships. Even Thomas Aquinas rejected the ontological proof of God's existence

whole structure of Christianity rests crashes to the ground" (*Rel. of Islam*, p. 241). The *kerygma* of the early church, as seen in the preaching recorded in the book of Acts, centers its case squarely and decisively upon the fact of Christ's Resurrection, and the Apostle Paul states the Christian apologetic in no less definite terms when he writes to the Corinthians (I Cor. 15 : 1-9, 14):

> Now I would remind you, brethren, in what terms I preached to you the gospel, which you received, in which you stand, by which you are saved, if you hold it fast—unless you believed in vain.
>
> For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared to more than five hundred brethren at one time, most of whom are still alive, though some have fallen asleep. Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles. Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me. For I am the least of the apostles, unfit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God .... If Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain.

If the Christian church is indeed on the verge of a revival of apologetic interest, it is hoped that the Resurrection of Christ will be made the pivot of that interest, so that the errors of Muhammad Ali will not be further duplicated in a Christian framework.[33]

---

[33] For an example of a Resurrection-centered recent book on Christian apologetics, see Wilbur M. Smith, *The Supernaturalness of Christ* (Boston, W. A. Wilde, 1940).

Waterloo Lutheran University JOHN WARWICK MONTGOMERY
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada

SOME NEW TESTAMENT OCCURRENCES OF *MONOS* WITH *THEOS*

There is a well-known hymn by a Glaswegian Minister, the opening stanza of which runs "Immortal, Invisible, God only wise." This hymn, all of whose verses might well be oppreciated by the theologically-minded in Islam and Jewry as well as Christendom, is based seemingly on the first of the doxologies in I Timothy. The verse is rendered in the Revised Standard Versions:

> "To the King of ages, immortal, invisible,
> the only God, be honor and glory for ever and ever."

The Arabic translation of Erpenius (1616) [1] reads ملك العالمين reminiscent of the *Fātiḥah,* but Van Dyck substituted الدهور for العالمين. There seems to have been a tendency a century and more ago to avoid phraseology with an Islamic tinge. In the last phrase the text, however, whereas Van Dyck renders μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ as وحده الحكيم الاله, Erpenius omits reference to μόνῳ and σοφῷ. It will be noted that the RSV (like the RV and SV) [2] is without σοφῷ. It is the AV with "only wise God" that constitutes authority for the hymnwright. In modern English versions Phillips follows the AV with "only wise God"; while Moffatt, Knox and Goodspeed, each translating μόνῳ in a different way, omit "wise" with the Vulgate and the other versions in conformity with the usually accepted Greek text. The phrase occurs again in Jude 25, where the same authorities omit "wise." The Arabic of Erpenius here makes no mention of μόνῳ or σοφῷ after "the God of our salvation," but Van Dyck has الوحيد الحكيم الاله, the important matter being the ascription of two qualities to God—"Unity" and "Wisdom." This is in line with the explanation in the *Interpreter's Bible* as Jude's aversion to polytheism. [3] This is equally Islamic and would have had the imprimatur of "Second Isaiah."

الحكيم is the twenty-eighth and الواحد (not الوحيد) the sixty-sixth. [4] The phraseology in I Timothy 1 : 17 and in Jude is usually reckoned as influenced by that of Romans 16.27 where μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ is rendered "God only wise" (AV), "the only wise God" (RV, RSV). The omission in I Timothy and Jude is significant, if only because it leaves μόνῳ as an adjective predicated of God—not "God only" but (the) "only God." It may well be however, that θεῷ in the three passages cited is anarthrous

---

1 The Edition Princeps of the New Testament in (printed) Arabic.

2 REV — Revised Standard Version; SV — Standard Version; RV — Revised Version; AV — Authorized Version.

3 Vol. 12, p. 343.

4 Of the ninety-nine attributes. S. Zwemer, *The Moslem Doctrine of God,* pp. 39, 43.

as an indication of divine unity and uniqueness, so that in the renderings of Erpenius μόνῳ would seem to be regarded as tautology. It is possible that in the translation of the passage in Romans in English and Arabic versions the reference to the Divine Unity implicit in Greek is overlooked, the dative adjective being considered the equivalent of an adverbial accusative as is often the case with μόνον. A similar phrase occurs in I Timothy 6.15 with δυνάστης, rendered in AV "the blessed and only Potentate" (RSV "Sovereign"). Three Arabic versions differ here. [5] Erpenius employs وحده after القوي, much as the Arabic translations employ it in those cases where "wise" is used of God. But Van Dyck has الوحيد, and the more recent translation of the Society of Peace and Love in Beirut has الأوحد. Both the latter render μόνος as an adjective in its own right, with the implication of the deliberate use of a stronger form than الواحد to express the absolute Unity of the Divine. But so far as Romans 16.27 is concerned as well as the passages in I Timothy and Jude where "Wise" is interpolated, there is no call for وحده for the emphasis or clarification of الحكيم, since حكيم, being a naturally strong form, requires no adverbial strengthening, especially in reference to God. Unique in His nature, His wisdom is absolute, to the Semitic mind, if to no other! So وحده is redundant. In Romans 16.27, the note of Divine Unity should therefore be expressed and the Greek adjective not used to amphasize what needs no emphasis. μόνος assumes the meaning of أحد in Surah 112. [6]

There are four further New Testament passages where μόνος occurs in connection with θεός, irrespective of the accounts of the Temptation in Matthew 4.10 and Luke 4.8. John 5.44 has the very important τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ, the phrase being rendered by Van Dyck الإله الواحد (Erpenius substituting الله for الإله). In English the AV "God only" has been rightly altered in RV and RSV to "the only God." In John 17.3 we have τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν where Arabic reverts to الاله الحقيق وحدك in Van Dyck but the more recent Beirut translation retains the theological significance of μόνον with الوحيد. In Luke 5.21, where Mark has εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός, there is substituted μόνος. [7] The RV renders the Pharisaic question in Mark, "Who can forgive sins but One, *even* God"? In Luke this becomes "but God alone." So too the AV, but RSV has "but God only." But in both Markan and Lukan passages "God" may well be explana-

---

[5] There does not seem to be any consistency in rendering the term in the Arabic versions; but in several instances one or other of them takes the Greek word as an adjective.

[6] Arberry *ad loc.* translates this as "One," not "The One."

[7] See Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, p. 196.

tory for non-Jewish readers of εἷς or μόνος while θεός is definite.[8] In Revelation 15.4, come the words familiar from the liturgical *Gloria in excelsis,* "for Thou only art Holy" (RSV "alone"), the original being μόνος ὅσιος. The Arabic is as familiar as the English وحدك قدوس.

The question obtrudes itself as to whether there has been a tendency (quite unconscious) to obscure some of the monotheistic notes of the New Testament revelation of God, whether through renderings of μόνος which are unnecessary in Semitic thought, or through treating the dative of the adjective as an accusative absolute in cases where this seems occidental rather than Semitic. Have we been forgetful of the naturally monotheistic expressions of the Semite in his thought of the Divine? Has there been a too great willingness to accept Western grammar and idiom in the Arabic rendering of these passages? Must we not be concerned that we do not give any impression but that the monotheistic note in the New Testament is as real and absolute as in the terminology of Judaism and Islam?

In elaborating the adverbial use of the adjective as distinct from μονῶς or the common μόνον, the Greek Dictionary specifies that μόνος ποιεῖ means "he alone does it," that is "he and no one else"; whereas μόνον ποιεῖ implies that "he does it only," that is, "it and nothing else."[9] The grammatical side of the question resolves itself into whether μόνος in these Biblical instances is adjectival or adverbial. The Semitic background should have definite consideration in the rendering of such vitally important phrases. Consistency in translation may be more practicable in attempting to revise the Arabic than in English. الوحيد can only be a strong form of الواحد where the Divine is concerned. "Only" in English is adverbial and adjectival. Reconstruction in Arabic using the definite article would result in nine or ten unequivocal references to the Unity of God in its unique and absolute sense:

Luke 5.21,	لا يقدر أن يغفر خطايا الا الواحد. هو الله
John 5.44,	والمجد الذى من الله الواحد
John 17.3,	انت الله الحقيقى الوحيد
Romans 16.27,	لله الحكيم الوحيد
I Timothy 1.17,	الله الواحد الحكيم
I Timothy 6.15 f.,	المبارك العزيز الوحيد
	الواحد الذى له عدم الموت
Jude 25,	الله الواحد
Apocalypse 15.4,	لأنك أنت القدّوس الوحيد[10]

[8] Cf. E. F. F. Bishop, *Jesus of Palestine,* p. 96.

[9] Liddell and Scott (ed. 1890), p. 997.

[10] It may be argued in this verse that *monos* does not qualify God's existence or absoluteness but His holiness. In this case however, nothing can be stronger than the Arabic word used for "Holy," which is exclusively employed for the Divine

If the instance(s) in the account of the Temptation be added, and it should be remembered that "only" is not found in the Hebrew of Deuteronomy, though it is certainly there by implication of the context, the phraseology would run:

Matthew 4.10, and Luke 4.8, الوحيد واياه تعبد

Granted that these verses do afford New Testament indication of the Semitic conviction or instinct of the Unity of the Divine, two minor points would have to be considered. First is الوحيد to be preferred in every case to الواحد with the exception of Luke 5.21, and, secondly, would it be better to substitute الله for الإله in each case where necessary? Though one main theory for the derivation of الله is that it is a contraction of الاله, it would seem that one cogent reason for the use in all these passages of الله is that it affords a clearer grasp of what the Divine Unity means and has meant to the Arabic-speaking person, be he Christian or Muslim. The word for "God" for both equally, as for the Arab-speaking Jew, is الله. The key instances are John 5.44, I Timothy 1.17 (perhaps 6.15) and Jude 25. If the "use" is correct in these, it should not be denied in John 17.3 and Romans 16.27. The passage in the Revelation 15.4, with its intense "Jewishness," has more than one of the ninety-nine attributes of which القدوس is the fourth, though there are but two instances of its occurrence in the Qur'ān (59 : 23 and 62 : 1). In the narrative of the Temptation the insertion of μόνος, whether or not deduced from the Hebrew, is further emphasis on the Unity. Divided worship means divided allegiance—tantamount to the Islamic conception of *shirk*, with its consequent denial of the Unity of God. There may be other contexts in the New Testament where in translation

---

and can never be predicated of man. In qualification of Divine Holiness "only" is tautological in Arabic or English. (The following phrase in the liturgical formula is not in the Apocalypse).

The above references by no means exhaust the possible translations of the phraseology in the Arabic versions. It seemed wiser to have recourse to some of the early and later printed editions, especially in view of the work of revision of the great work of Van Dyck now being undertaken and in consideration of the more "national" translations in other parts of the Arabic-speaking world. Helpful suggestions in the preparation of this article came from the Reverend James M. Ritchie of the Keith Falconer Mission of the Church of Scotland in Aden.

In Rom. 16.27, I Tim. 1.17 and Jude 25 of the edition of the New Testament supervised by Henry Martyn, *mónos* is rendered by متفرّد, which implied *uniqueness*. In Tim. 8.15-16 the occurrences of *mónos,* first with Potentate and then definite, the Arabic has فريد and متفرّد, while in Rev. 16.4 the "Unity" seems clearly understood with متحد. In John 4.44 and 17.3 the monotheistic note is not in evidence, nor is it in Luke 5.21. In the important passages, including the Johannine, the Urdu translation is in support of the monotheistic note, with the exception of Rev. 15.4. (For this note there is indebtedness to the Rev. G. D. Reynolds of the Translations Department of the British and Foreign Bible Society.)

this insistence on the Divine Unity is blurred. In life and worship, as in thought and its expression, the Church must be crystal clear in this confession of her faith. Monotheism must never be misinterpreted as henotheism. The latter has often engendered a spirit of controversy for which there can be no room in the practice or thinking of the Monotheist.

To the *only God* invisible, the Father of truth, who sent forth unto us the Saviour and Prince of immortality, through whom also He made manifest unto us the truth and the heavenly life, to Him be the glory for ever and ever." [11]

Redhill, Surrey, England ERIC F. F. BISHOP

---

[11] J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers,* ed. 1891, p. 94.

THE REVEREND LEWIS BEVAN JONES

On March 31, 1960, the Reverend Lewis Bevan Jones, after a glorious record of unceasing labour in the most difficult task of the missionary enterprise, the presentation of the Gospel to Muslims, passed away from the earthly scene of his life, and went to receive his crown from the Master whom he had served so well. Judged by his burning zeal and the complete dedication of his life to lead Muslims to Christ, he may be regarded as the last in the noble line of such missionaries in India as Wherry, Goldsack, Sell and several others who had devoted their talents and spent their energy to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the followers of Islam. His death in a sense marked a closing era of missionary enterprise in India when conditions under which the Gospel was presented differed from what it is now. It was an era of bold aggressive evangelism. But Bevan Jones's uncompromising approach in the presentation of the Gospel had none of that type of aggressiveness which often creates antagonism rather than friendliness in the hearts of those who find it hard to understand and appreciate the value of those Christian doctrines which are fundamental to our Faith. He always made an effort in classroom lectures or in talking with Muslims to understand their points of view and to explain Christianity to them. He stressed the necessity of a friendly approach and closer contact with our Muslim brethren instead of an engagement with them in a long-range fight by debates and disputes. He took care to warn those who came to him to learn the method of approach to Muslims that often a victory in debate may result in losing a soul. Thus he gained many a friend among Muslims who held him in high honour for his scholarship and valued friendship and respected him for his uncompromising loyalty to the faith he preached. I have hardly known a case of a Christian missionary to Muslims receiving as high a tribute at his death as was paid to Bevan Jones by his friends who are outside the Christian Church. Maulvi Muhammad Yakub Khan of Lahore, Imam of the mosque at Woking (England), Editor of *The Light,* and a Muslim missionary in Christian countries, for example, in course of his tribute, stated: "Christian Missionary Societies have sent us some very fine specimens of Christianity, but Reverend Bevan Jones was a jewel of a man among them. Personally, if there was one man who made me respect Christianity in its real sense—in the sense of love and charity of heart—it was Bevan Jones."

The winsome characteristic of his life which drew Muslims to him and won their friendship was also displayed in the magnanimity of his soul which transcended all denominational differences of the Christian Church. Men of all denominations found in him a friend and a brother. He himself was a Baptist, and among his staff he had the Reverend Dr. Lawrence Browne, a High Church Anglican, and the writer of these lines, a Methodist. Yet there was harmony which, under his

leadership, made the Henry Martyn School of Islamics an ideal family of their own where all differences were transcended. His magnetic personality, as well as the fame of his evangelistic zeal, attracted missionaries, and national pastors and preachers, from every part of India; some even came from China. Most students were residents in the School and that provided the Christian fellowship which added greatly to the intellectual and spiritual training of all who came there.

It was about the year 1928 that the International Missionary Council, with the various Missionary Societies of America and Britain working in India, planned to open an Institute for Islamic Studies and Research and for the training of men and women, both foreigners and nationals, for work among Muslims. Early in 1930 the Institute was opened in Lahore and L. Bevan Jones was chosen unanimously by the Committee as the first Principal. He, honouring the great pioneer missionary among Muslims in India and Persia, called it the Henry Martyn School of Islamics. The Reverend L. E. Browne was released by his Mission, the S.P.G., to serve on its staff. Reverend Bevan Jones asked the Methodist Church that I should be appointed to serve as lecturer. It was thus that I was brought in close association with him in the ministry of work among Muslims. The years spent under his leadership have enriched my life and given me training which fitted me for the wider ministry and greater responsibility which it has been my privilege to assume in the Church. He was always a good friend to all who came in contact with him. His fearlessness and courageous stand for what he considered right, his despising of cheap popularity, his Christian humility and meekness, his selfless devotion to duty, and his relationship with those who worked under his leadership, whom he regarded as his co-workers, are always my guide and ideal.

None could have been better fitted to be the first Principal of an institution which was the first of its kind in India. He brought a wealth of experience which he had gained by working a number of years among Muslims, chiefly in Dacca, Bengal. He knew two major languages of the Muslims in India, Urdu and Bengali.

Bevan Jones was quite at home with every type and class of Muslim. He was at ease talking with a fanatical Mulla and in conversation with an orthodox Sunni; he showed complete freedom in presenting the claims of Christ to a friendly Sufi or to a fighting Ahmadi; he could rise to high scholarship in discussion with a well qualified Maulvi and he knew also how to come down to the level of the understanding of a simple and illiterate village Muslim.

Bevan Jones was uncompromising in the fundamentals of Christian belief. He could not be classified as an extreme liberal or a narrow fundamentalist. He might be termed orthodox in his belief, though he would wear no label. On one occasion a young missionary came to visit our School. Examining one of the Principal's books and looking

at the titles of chapters such as "The Authenticity of the Bible," "Trinity," "The Death and Resurrection of Christ," he expressed his disappointment. With a superior smile he remarked, "We in America are far ahead of such antiquated doctrines. I do not see any use in trying to prove to Muslims what the enlightened minds of Christians do not believe any longer." The Principal looked affectionately at the young missionary and said, "Friend, you are in a country where you will be either compelled to revise your opinion on Christian doctrine, or compelled by the inadequacy of your Christian faith to return to your country." Within a short time the young missionary returned to America where he was led to revise his own views on the Christian faith, and later returned to India where with his full faith in Christ he is doing valuable work among theological students.

Reverend L. Bevan Jones combined in himself the mind of a scholar and the heart of an evangelist. It was the passion for souls which was the dominant note in all that he did. Every book or tract that he wrote served not only as a mine of information on Islam but also as a source of inspiration to win Muslims for Christ.

He used to say that, as a sinner saved by grace, he sought to share that grace with Muslims. He did not believe in the method of controversy. To him Islam had its origin in a misunderstanding of the claims of Christianity. Islam perpetrates the misunderstanding which originated with Muhammad. To him a Muslim was a victim of this age-long misunderstanding. The task of an evangelist was to try to remove the misunderstanding and not to argue with him and create bitterness in his heart by comparison of religions. It was for such reasons that he wrote *Christianity Explained to Muslims.* His earlier book, *The People of the Mosque,* is now among the classics on the study of Islam.

He considered that, because of segregation of women from men in Islam, an approach to Muslim women by women evangelists was an essential part of the evangelisation of Muslims. He emphasized that while the husband is receiving instruction in Christian faith it is necessary that at the same time the wife be taught in the *zenana* by a Christian woman qualified for the task. Mrs. Bevan Jones was dedicated to this difficult task of presenting Christ to Muslim women. She tried to create interest in such work and took Christian women with her to the closed doors of the *zenana* and interested them in winning these women for Christ. After long experience and deep study of the position of women in Islam, Bevan Jones, with the help of his wife, produced the remarkable book *Woman in Islam,* a *vade mecum* for every evangelist interested in the task of taking the Gospel to Muslim women.

I find it beyond the ability of my words to express my sincere appreciation of all that "Bevan" did in his life to inspire Christians to preach the Gospel to Muslims and to tell of his labour to lead Mus-

lims themselves to the knowledge of Christ, our Saviour and Lord. His greatest contribution in the field of work among Muslims was through the Henry Martyn School. The School would never have lasted so long without the leadership which he gave. The contributing Societies had full confidence in him, and they always came to save it from being closed down on account of lack of funds or personnel. We did pass through critical situations, but Bevan Jones gave the School stability and, when he left, on reaching the age of retirement, it was on a sound footing. His books, *The People of the Mosque, Christianity Explained to Muslims,* and *Woman in Islam* will last long as great classics for those who are interested in the evangelisation of Muslims.

Hyderabad,
India

JOHN A. SUBHAN

BOOK REVIEWS

Syria — A Short History. By Philip K. Hitti. The Macmillan Company, 60 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N.Y., 1959; pp. ix, 271, five maps; $ 4.50.

This is a condensation of the same author's monumental volume published in 1951 entitled *History of Syria Including Lebanon and Palestine* in which he presented scholars with what might justly be described as the only comprehensive one volume story of greater Syria. The detailed nature of the latter work has made it somewhat inaccessible to many classes of readers whose interest in the area of the Middle East is limited to general knowledge on the subject. The author, therefore, has conceived the idea of preparing a shorter text comprising the salient items of information and essence of the other book without the footnotes and critical apparatus which were intended for use only by the specialist. Because of pressures on his crowded time, the author has apparently availed himself of the effective cooperation of his eminent former pupil and colleague, Harry W. Hazard, whose work in the field of historical geography of the Middle East is well known. There is no doubt that the work is an admirable accomplishment which will fill a gap in our general historical literature, for this book will furnish many readers with a dispassionate and succinct survey of the background of this inflammatory spot on the globe, based on profound scholarship and prolonged research.

After considering the land and climate of Syria as well as its pre-History, often associated with the coming of *Homo-sapiens,* the writer outlines the sum total of the stages through which the country had passed from the remotest antiquity and the ancient Semites. The Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods are clearly outlined. Greater attention is accorded to the Arab age, and rightly so, from the Muslim conquest down to the depressing rule of the Turkish Empire. In dealing with the post-Turkish period, the author has not been satisfied with a simple synopsis of his former work. The birth of nationalism, the stories of woe, wars, oppression and pestilence which mark the last of the Turks in Syria are set forth in forceful style as a prelude to a shaky liberation under the French Mandate in the course of the First World War. The final chapter on Syria as an independent republic supersedes its parallel in the larger volume, since the author expands his review of the contemporary scene by following up subsequent events to the historic merger of February, 1958, with Egypt in the new United Arab Republic.

Although the modern period has been somewhat curtailed to preserve the sense of proportion in an unusually long story, it might have been more desirable in the shorter volume to devote a little more space to that particular aspect to meet the needs of the general reader today. It is hard to find any justification for the absence in the shorter book of a select bibliography for guidance of laymen to further reading. In the larger volume, bibliographical notices are made in the footnotes and, with the disappearance of these, the reader is left without special references to consult on any point. In a work of such limited dimen-

sions it might have been more expedient to produce the book as a paper-back for a much wider circulation. This experience with Hitti's other work on the *History of the Arabs* and its shorter paper-back could have been duplicated in regard to Syria with effect. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the usefulness of the present small volume will remain beyond reproach.

Center for Intercultural Studies AZIZ S. ATIYA
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah

Benedictine and Moor. By Peter Beach and William Dunphy; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 383 Madison Ave., New York 17, N.Y., 1960; pp. x, 214, illustrations, index, $ 4.00.

This is not an easy book to review. The sincerity of its authors is as obvious as is the noble work of the French Benedictines in Morocco whom the book describes. Founded in 1952 at Toumliline, their settlement soon became far more than a monastic retreat. It also provided education, medical help and labour for the native community and, ultimately, summer conferences for international visitors.

The authors convincingly demonstrate that Dom Martin, the Prior, and his monks stood up courageously against French colonialism in Morocco, and no one would doubt the sincerity of the Prior's Christian convictions or his great intelligence. And yet, as the authors admit, one of Morocco's outstanding spiritual leaders, Allal al-Fassi, distrusts the work of Toumliline. In fact the great national hero is no exception. Though the King and several members of the Moroccan government have patronized the Toumliline congresses, the authors do not seem aware that this patronage may have been motivated not so much by an innate sympathy with those yearly meetings as by considerations of national prestige, international and inter-religious activities making good propaganda for Morocco. Nevertheless, the majority of responsible Moroccans view Toumliline suspiciously, believing, as they do, that the French, no longer able to make open political propaganda in Morocco, hide behind a screen of religion which they use for doubtful political ends. Why, these Moroccans ask, should the monastery have been founded in the heartland of the Berbers, next to Azrou, where, in the thirties, the French had established the Berber College whose sole aim was to prepare the ground for a separation of Berber from Arab? Why, do they ask, does Toumliline welcome far greater numbers of Berbers than of Arabs? Many thoughtful Moroccans—and there are Berbers among them—believe that the monastery is being misused to foster the threadbare doctrine of a Berber separatism. Moroccans likewise cannot help wondering at the very small number of non-French Arabists invited to lecture at Toumliline, which, in spite of substantial American donations, is practically a French monopoly. If the yearly congresses are chiefly of a religious nature, Moroccans are asking, why have successive French governments, usually so anxious not to offend against the secular status of the French state, supported them financially?

Everyone who has ever had the privilege of visiting Toumliline can only hope that the various Moroccan suspicions are unjustified and that the group of devoted monks are not being taken in by a new type of colonialist Machiavellism. For the world needs not fewer but far more centres of inter-religious activity. Had the authors been more intimately acquainted with Morocco and its problems, and had they been able to gain the confidence of Moroccans "who matter," they might have dealt with these important aspects of the Toumliline venture. Their ignorance is, incidentally, revealed in a number of, fortunately, minor errors in their text. *Mokhazina,* as given on p. 72, is the wrong form; the puppet Ben Arafa was never known as Mohammed VI (p. 112); there is no "Grand Sheik of Islam" in Morocco (p. 124); on the King's return from his exile Mehdi ben Barka was not yet President of the National Assembly, which office he assumed only one year later, that is, in November 1956; at the height of summer the Atlas peaks are never "snow-capped" (p. 180); Abderrahim Bouabid was not the "new" Minister of National Economy in the "leftist government," as he occupied that post already in the preceding governments. It seems slightly ominous that the term "Arab" hardly ever appears in the text and not at all in the index, while practically every page is sprinkled with the term "Berber." It is a pity that the authors did not provide a bibliography.

College of the Pacific
Stockton, California

ROM LANDAU

City of Wrong: a Friday in Jerusalem. By M. Kamel Hussein. Translated from the Arabic, with an introduction, by Kenneth Cragg; Djambatan, Amsterdam, 1959; pp. xxv, 225. Fl. 13.50 (-25/6).

This is a most remarkable book, significant for a wide variety of reasons. The author, the subject, the treatment, the Muslim implications, the Christian implications, the cosmopolitan involvements—all these and more are worthy of note.

In 1957 the Egyptian State Prize for Literature went to an Arabic novel published in Cairo that year entitled *Qaryah Ẓālimah.* The work attracted attention and applause in the Arabic-speaking world; it has stirred considerable interest outside also, and is being translated into a number of languages. The English version has been rendered by the former editor of this journal; this fact in itself suggests something of the importance and quality of the story—which indeed raises virtually all the issues that concern Dr. Cragg and this Quarterly.

The author of this striking work, Dr. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, is a Cairo essayist whose ideas on various religious and human questions are about as fresh and humane as anything being produced in Egypt today. He is also a successful medical doctor (with a serious interest on the psychiatric side). He is also a major educational administrator, having been Rector of Ibrahim ᶜAyn Shams University in Cairo. We lesser mortals who would like if possible to do even one thing well are in danger of being taken aback at so many accomplishments; but

one must not be daunted, for the personality that shines through these pages is a disarming one, warm and wining rather than overpowering, and not clever so much as wise.

The "Friday in Jerusalem" of the sub-title is the original Good Friday: the book is an historical novel presenting scenes around the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Christ himself does not appear in the narrative; this is a study of how others re-act to him, and especially to his sentence of death. The first three parts deal with groups and individuals among the Jews, among the disciples, and among the Romans respectively, each in a series of imaginative chapters or sketches. The last part is called "Golgotha and After" in which "for three hours the whole land lay darkened" (p. 179): this provides a culminating occasion of greater intensity for the author to plumb the significance of the event for many types such as a Roman soldier, some women disciples, one of the Wise Men, a Greek philosopher, a shepherd girl; and finally, in the Conclusion, for man today.

This last links up with the opening. For the work begins by presenting the subject as of universal significance:

"The day was a Friday.

"But is was quite unlike any other day.

"It was a day when men went very grievously astray, so far astray in fact that they involved themselves in the utmost iniquity. ...

"The events of that day do not simply belong to the annals of the early centuries. They are disasters renewed daily in the life of every individual. Men to the end of time will be contemporaries of that memorable day, perpetually in danger of the same sin and wrongdoing into which the inhabitants of Jerusalem then fell."

There are two basic comments to be made upon the above. The first is that what the author is here saying is important and wise. The second is on the highly interesting point that this is being said by a prominent, serious, believing Muslim.

Which of the two comments is more significant; which more deserves to be pushed and elaborated? Perhaps it was to be expected that the latter aspect of the novel, its Islamic authorship, should stir the greater attention in Christendom. No doubt it is particularly so of an English translation. Dr. Cragg prefixes a twenty-five-page Introduction largely devoted to exploring this question.

Certainly it is a remarkable matter. For fourteen centuries relations between Islam and Christendom have included overt and martial clash, much theological recrimination and personal misunderstanding. They have witnessed too much of alienation, for any major move towards reconciliation such as this to pass uncelebrated. Christian writing about Islam was for long polemical, and still today it is only partly true that uncharitable works are being superseded by serious and sympathetic endeavours to understand, and to do deep justice to the realities of faith. There has been a complaint from Christians that this attempt is not reciprocated; that no Muslim has written about the Christian faith a book of genuine insight. Such a complaint can no longer be made. This novel shows as much and as serious understanding of a central and profound Christian issue as perhaps any writing from any

source on a religious tradition other than one's own, that this reviewer can call to mind. It would be a great day if Christians could regard this work as a challenge to produce a comparable work of art about some religiously formative moment in early Islamic history.

For a Muslim to write on the Crucifixion of Jesus in itself raises a problem. For the traditional Islamic position has been that in fact Jesus was not crucified, but a substitute in his place. The Qur'ān itself has a statement on this matter which, though somewhat ambiguous, is crucial in all Muslim-Christian theological encounter. In this book, however, this problem is set aside. The author is interested in, and presents, Jerusalem's decision to crucify Jesus. And he writes about man's (Everyman's) involvement in the attitude that condemns, or—in the disciples' case—the attitude that allows the Lord to be surrendered. Whether the condemnation is actually carried out, therefore, does not impinge.

The Crucifixion, of course, is a profound and central matter to Christians throughout the world, in their millions. Here is a work that illustrates and promotes a new and deep understanding of it among Muslims, whose community in *its millions* has heretofore been precluded from this. Its appearance, therefore, is a major historical development in the realm of human inter-cultural relations—quite apart from the implications on the theological plane. For Comparative Religion this book is important: let there be no mistake about that.

Nonetheless, having emphasized that point, this reviewer wonders whether he might be forgiven for asking: is this after all the right way to go at this book? It was not written as an essay in Comparative Religion. It was not consciously an attempt to see how a Muslim could understand or deal with an element of the Christian faith. The ramifications for the relations between separated peoples, between alternative theologies, between a regrettable past and a potentially more amicable future, are perhaps momentous but they are in fact incidental. The author chose the subject evidently because it was significant to him. He writes about it because by doing so he can make to his fellows (fellow Muslims? fellow Egyptians? fellow men?) a point that he feels it important to get across: namely, that it is wrong in any community to act wrongly. By saying this, I have uttered a platitude; but the author in saying it has uttered no platitude, since he has made this point vivid and genuine and compelling. He has let the reader see (really *see*) what "wrong" means in terms that become alive and drive the point home personally, in actual situations, and in dynamic development. The heart of the novel lies precisely in the point that truth and virtue lie not in words, formulae, institutional patterns, traditional conformity; but in a personal *engagement.*

Though virtue is presented as a deeply personal and immediate thing, the author symbolizes it with the concept "conscience." In itself this reviewer did not find the symbol adequate to the substance. However, the substance is made sufficiently clear in the content of the novel that the inadequacy of this symbol or of any formulation might almost be seen as elaborating rather than contradicting the central point. Those who hanker after reducing man's moral problem to some

simple formula will feel that this author's formula, of following one's conscience, is contradicted not only by life but by this novel itself. This is so in several places, on one of which the translator has an extended footnote (page 221). This may be an artistic flaw (and indeed readers whose tastes are those of the Western novel will find others). For it is evident enough from the story that some of those who condemned Jesus did so with a good sonscience, and the author so presents them that the reader is led to see and feel their fault—rather, *our* fault. The word "conscious" is not, really, what the author intends. The phrase fails, but the story succeeds, in making clear what the author means.

Some Christians will rejoice that the capacity of men to perceive and to respond to virtue and love in human life enables them to see the significance of Christ. May one not argue rather for a *vice-versa*? The quality of this book, some will hold, lies chiefly in the fact that its author has, and its readers may, see something in the Christian tradition that Muslims normally do not see. We would suggest that it lies more in that its author has, and its readers may, see something in human life that most of us, whatever our creeds, do not normally *really* see and feel. That he uses a Christian motif to illustrate the point is certainly interesting, and if Christians wish to take note of that let them do so; but let one chiefly rejoice that the point is seen and is vividly presented. The book has been written not so that its Muslim readers will feel differently towards Christians or towards Christ, but so that they will feel differently—inwardly, towards duty, and in general towards God and their neighbour.

Any book that helps Muslims, or anyone else, to see what duty is, more genuinely, and to love God and their neighbour more personally, more truly, is a significant book.

Institute of Islamic Studies
McGill University
Montreal, Canada

WILFRED CANTWELL SMITH

The Holy Sword. By Robert Payne; Harper & Brothers, 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N.Y., 1959. Pp. xvi, 335, including glossary, index, and maps, 16 photographs. $ 6.00.

"I hope something of the sweep and roar and fury of Arab history has come clear through these pages" (p. xiv). Perhaps: but if so they carry a lot of distinctions and exactitudes away with them. The author sets out, to judge from his title and his preface, to tell the story of Arab arms. "A reasonably complete cultural history of the Arab conquests from the beginnings to the present day" is his ambition, with the somewhat pretentious claim that this will be the first such. But there is a strange ambiguity throughout, as if this story of Arab military empire were also the story of Islam. Speaking, for example, in the final chapter of seven Arab leaders (all of them military or political) in the modern age, he refers in the same context to "the renascence of Islam in the 19th century" as if the two were synonymous. There is,

however, no mention of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī or Muḥammad ᶜAbduh.

There is of course no objection to a proposal to survey Arab history (though it would be better to do so in a less flamboyant style); but it is only confusing and arbitrary to assume that the result is also a presentation of Islam. The astigmatism persists to the end where we find (p. 311) the conclusion: "With the figure of Gamal Abdal Nasser the story of Islam comes to its present end." If that sentence has any meaning, it would be hard to justify it. When he is dealing directly with Islam, the writer makes some curious and ill-informed claims, in which for the most part he seems led away by his ready will to generalize and indulge in sentiment. "Muhamadenism [sic]," we are told, "has no rounded tradition of scholarship" (p. xi). Perhaps the catch is in "rounded": but a millennium of Al-Azhar and the Qarawīyīn would seem to be against him. Islam again, we learn, is "a religion without a Virgin" (p. xii). "The face of Muhammad is wholly masculine." Whatever this may mean, the Virgin birth of ᶜĪsā is a deeply rooted Quranic and devotional truth for Muslims. We hear too much of "golden sands and shuddering skies" and the sun "blazing over the abysmal lives of the desert dwellers." And the romantic often mixes its metaphors: "the husk" of Islam is "shorn of its grandeur." A leader "treading on dangerous ground" "awakens forces" which have presumably been stirring below like Hamlet's father's ghost, mole-like under the sod.

"The sweep and the fury" involves numbers of inaccuracies. *Ahl al-Bait* are contrasted with *Ahl al-Kitāb* as if the former phrase denoted all Muslims. *Ittiḥād* is "used of the coalescence of divine and human creatures" (p. 314). ᶜAlī, the Prophet's son-in-law and cousin, is said to be the son of Abū Bakr. The Qurᵓān is referred to *inter alia* as being "speculative," a quality which would seem least appropriate either to its actual contents or to its account of its origins. What shall we make of the statement: "In Arabic there are only three long vowels and the consonants have all the importance" (p. 2)? It would be difficult to see how consonants unaided could accomplish *ṣarf* and *naḥū*, or the short vowels and the dipthongs be forgotten. We have Manah for Manāt, Kalifah and Khalifah, *bismikka* and *bismika*. The careful reader can only stop and blink when he reads: "To this day the Arabs worship stones, and so do all the followers of Muhammad" (p. 4). It must be questioned whether the first phrase was ever true even under the Jāhiliyyah: the second has surely never been true. One can hardly think the writer is misconceiving the clay tablets used in Shiᶜah prostration to take the brow's touch in *sujūd*. Apropos of the "Black Stone" in the Kaᶜbah we read: "In all history there is no object of veneration which *has been worshipped* for so long a time" (p. 8).

Far-reaching contemporary ventures of Islamic ideology, both theoretical and active, would seem to be ignored in the curious comment (p. 306) that "the very nature of his (i.e., the Muslim's) religion makes him incapable of understanding the social forces which move the modern world, and he remains intolerant of all form of government except feudalism," and "only in modern Turkey is there any under-

standing of democracy." Is the verb well chosen in the statement: "...when the Persians captured Muhamadanism..." (p. 153)? Can a perceptive reader securely trust the guidance of any author who insists on summarizing with so uncertain a touch?

In short, then, this work must be used with considerable reserve, at any rate as (to quote from its sub-title) "The Story of Islam." It provides a fastmoving and at times eloquent narrative of empires and dynasties. But it fails all too often to subdue its exuberance to adequate criteria and it misses so much in "The Story of Islam" which is not amenable to this approach. We wonder whether the fly-leaf quotation from Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī has been justly taken ("The moment of mystery is as the flashing of a sword in the air"). For in his watching the sword, the moments of mystery elude him.

Canterbury, England — KENNETH CRAGG

Oxford Regional Economic Atlas: The Middle East and North Africa. Oxford University Press, 417 Fifth Ave., New York 16, N.Y., 1960; pp. viii, 135, maps in color. $ 10.00. In U.K. 42s.

This is the latest issue of a series of Regional Economic Atlases prepared by the Economist Intelligence Unit and the Cartographic Department of the Clarendon Press under the able consultantship of C. G. Smith, an Oxford University Lecturer in Geography. The formidable array of acknowledgements (cf. p. vi), comprising all manner of scholars and international organizations, may help to clarify the source of a work of unusual excellence in a difficult field. The almost anonymous authors of this extensive atlas appear to have ransacked most of the geographical library resources in order to compile the political, physical and geographical data on which they have based their cartographic and economic conspectus of the countries of the Middle East. The usefulness and comprehensiveness of the volume may be perceived from the list of countries treated therein. The impressive list includes Iran, ᶜIraq, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Cyprus, Saᶜudi Arabia, the Persian Gulf States, Muscat and ᶜOman, Aden, Yemen, Somaliland, Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

During the last few years a number of atlases on the Middle East and the Arab world have seen the light. The present volume is the latest and perhaps the most complete addition. The allotment of some space for such special areas as those of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea are features often overlooked in former attempts and fulfilled in the present work. On the other hand, it would have been more to the reader's advantage if the maps devoted to these special areas had been strictly confined to their main objective instead of being spread into other geographical spheres, thereby minimizing the benefits accruing from a full-size chart. Other minor items call for further consideration. The map of Lower Egypt juxtaposed to that of Israel (p. 16) is a curious combination, unwarranted by history, politics and geography. Further, the Nile Delta part of the map is valueless redundance and

might have been presented separately with some fulness. Of necessity, much attention has been accorded to oilfields and the oild industry. Yet other enterprises of magnitude in our times might rave received more consideration than the enquirer could find on these pages. There is no full-size map of the Suez Canal which is the jugular vein of the Near Eastern oil. No attempt is made to cover some of the greatest undertakings of our time such as the High Dam project beyond Aswan in Nubia. Of course the Qaṭṭāra depression project in the Libyan desert has not attained atlas maturity, but it would have been a sign of definitive scholarship to incorporate even that and other items which could serve as preludes to the shape of things to come in the Middle East.

The present volume is not limited to mapping (pp. 1-64), but also comprises written supplementary notes and statistics (pp. 65-120) in addition to the usual comprehensive gazetter (pp. 121-135). Though considerable research stands at the back of these notes, it is a pity that the authors, publishing in the year 1960, should have missed some of the latest data and available figures, thus rendering certain facets of their attempt somewhat incomplete or out-of-date. Perhaps the most flagrant example is the 1947 quotation of the population of Egypt—Southern Region of the United Arab Republic—as nineteen millions, whereas the 1960 census recently announced the correct up-to-date figure as 26,080,000 souls.

There is no doubt that the next edition of this excellent atlas will deal with all these insufficiencies. An atlas of this kind is indispensable to all libraries and all scholars of the Middle East. It is a much needed production for which the world owes the Oxford University Press a debt of gratitude.

University of Utah AZIZ S. ATIYA
Salt Lake City, Utah

God of Justice, a Study in the Ethical Doctrine of the Qur'ān. By Daud Rahbar. Leiden (Brill) 1960. Pp. xxii + 446. Gld. 30.—.

Daud Rahbar, following the footsteps of his father Muhammad Iqbal (of Lahore) as a student at Cambridge, and a believing Muslim, chose as his doctoral dissertation to apply for the first time a very simple and self-evident literary technique to the study of the Qur'ān. This was to collect all the passages from the Qur'anic text which included or alluded to the terms used to describe the truth, power, knowledge, will, guidance, and dispositional acts of Allah, to group them according to their contexts, and so to determine, by inspection and natural common-sense, as it were, the "contemporary" significance of the terms in their contexts. From any such analysis it becomes, of course, immediately evident that the Qur'anic texts do not explicitly support the philosophical implications read into them, or the logical conclusions to which they were driven, by the later scholastic theologians of Islam. Many or most of their "metaphysical" dogmas, it is argued, are supported only by verses or phrases torn out of context (as is indeed not uncommonly the case in all theologies).

But the study did not lead only to negative conclusions. From his examination of the texts in this manner Dr. Rahbar was led to the conclusion that the Qur'ān does present, in its original historical context, a definite and consistent doctrine, the doctrine, namely, of the strict justice of Allah on the Day of Judgment. The main criticism directed against the scholastics, therefore, is not so much (perhaps) their addiction to metaphysics, as that their emasculation of the doctrine of God's Justice led to the substitution of a metaphysical Being arbitrary and capricious in His relations with men, whether of mercy or of vengeance. In its final form, consequently, the thesis groups the Qur'anic texts (but in no arbitrary fashion or selection) in a manner which brings out the ubiquity and consistency of the doctrine of God's Justice. Furthermore, as an additional safeguard against any charge of deliberate selection, *all* passages relating to the terms under examination are quoted in full in the appendices for each chapter.

Since in a great many passages of the Qur'ān similar phrases recur again and again, the general principle underlying the analysis of the meaning to be given to the verses in which these terms appear is as follows. All of them are found in various contexts, sometimes very frequently, but not all contexts are equally explicit. The logical method is to group those with similar contexts, and to apply in all of these the interpretation derived from the most explicit context or contexts. The repetition of similar phrases with slight variations arises from the rhetorical structure of much of the Qur'ān and the need to reinforce its central teachings by constantly impressing them on the minds of its hearers. There was no necessity, however, to develop them equally explicitly on every occasion of repetition, and "the [specific] significance of any rhetorical utterance can be understood only by referring to the situation that occasioned it and by turning to the effect that it was meant to create" (p. 53). Dr. Rahbar, indeed, sees in this distinction between explicit and general statements the explanation of the much-disputed passage which refers to *muḥkam* and *mutashābih* verses.

There is little need to present all of his arguments in detail, and his general conclusions have already been stated. That he has carried out his investigation with scrupulous fairness and good sense would surely be admitted by all impartial scholars. This is not to say, however, that either the conclusions or the arguments can be regarded as proved without further ado. Dr. Rahbar has introduced (or rather developed) a technique of study that needs no justification in itself, but the results of which cannot be regarded as definitive until the same or parallel operations have been carried out by others as well with the same scrupulosity, but with possibly differing mental or lexical approaches.

While I personally think, therefore, that Dr. Rahbar has made out a substantial case for his main thesis, and have no wish to quibble over small points in so honest a study, there are some reservations that require to be made, of which the following may serve as examples. Firstly, he makes apparently no allowance for inconsistencies (which are admitted even by Muslim orthodoxy under the head of "abrogation"), and is involved in consequence in an occasional straining of his argument, particularly on *qadar*.

Again, in Chapter II, in arguing that the concept of Allah as the "only reality" is a metaphysical importation, he insists that *al-ḥaqq* is to be translated as "the true." But what does "true" mean in such phrases as "the true God" or "the true kingdom," if not that which really exists in contrast to that which has no real existence? (Observe that the opposite is *bāṭil,* which does not mean "false," but "null, of no effect," i.e. unreal.) It may be granted that the term does not connote the later metaphysical ideas of Reality, but only the Arab idea of "the true" as "the real" and vice versa. In the translation of 24: 25, however, it is forcing words to translate *al-ḥaqq al-mubīn* as "plain truthfulness."

A third point goes somewhat further, and Dr. Rahbar, standing on the ground of Muslim orthodoxy, could not be expected to apply it to his analysis. Indeed, he says (p. 97) that certain meanings could not have existed "in the language of pre-Qur'anic days when Allah and His Sovereignty were conceptions yet unknown." It is, however, certain that much of the religious (even "theological") vocabulary of the Qur'ān is derived from already established usage (an obvious example is *al-Ḥayy al-Qayyūm*), and it would be an *a priori* and untenable argument that Muhammad used these terms without understanding something of the ideas associated with them.

Harvard University HAMILTON A. R. GIBB
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Tribes of the Sahara. By Lloyd Cabot Briggs; Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960; pp. xx, 295, illustrations; $ 6.00.

This book portrays the tribes living in "the desert which lies between the western frontier of Egypt and the Atlantic Ocean" (p. xvii). It excludes from its pages the tribes living in the regions of the desert owned by Egypt and the Sudan, although these regions are included in the more than 3,000,000 square miles encompassed by the Sahara. Also Libya is absent from these pages, with the exception of its southern frontier where Teda clans move to and fro. Remaining, then, are the tribes living in the western half of the Sahara. The book is useful for the study of the populations of this vast area, foremost among which are the Mozabites, the Chaamba, the Tuarge, the Teda (or Tibu), the Moors, and many of the fragmentary ethnic groups in the area. The many illustrations and diagrams, the glossary, the bibliography, and, not to forget, the index enhance the value of the book as a reference work. The author has succeeded in making "readily available [in English] an over-all summary of what is known about the subject" (p. xix). Readers ought to follow his advice and consult his monograph *The Living Races of the Sahara* (1958) for "more technical detail" than is contained in the book under review.

The publisher writes on the inside of the cover flap that Dr. Briggs "replaces the myths and exaggerations of missionaries, lecturers, and scenario writers with factual information . . ." If the author means to correct statements by missionaries and scenario writers, his book does not say so, nor why they should be bundled together. He is not pleased,

however, with "the modern school of lecturers" (p. 161) and an unnamed "well-known lecturer" who gave unreliable information to "an unsuspecting audience of New England farmers" (p. vii). This reviewer has the impression that the author has that same audience in mind all through his book and wants to impart reliable information to it. This keeps him down to earth, and that is good. He makes use of good and plain comparions. To illustrate, he compares the size of the population of the vast Ahaggar territory to the 1950 population of the New England town of Swampscott, Massachusetts, that is less than 12,000 (p. 125). But he does not avoid all the pitfalls of lecturers himself. He writes, for example, of "the Moslem fast of Ramadhan, which corresponds to the Christian Lent" (p. 163). Such a comparison would satisfy a popular lecturer of the kind to which the author makes objection, but would not satisfy a Muslim or a Christian living inside the faith he professes. Nor does the author escape factual errors. When, for example, he tells of the fall of Tahert (it was not yet Tiaret; in fact it never was really Tiaret), he says about the Ibadites that they "were driven out . . . by orthodox Moslem fanatics" (p. 84). As a matter of fact they were actually driven out by the Fatimids, who were not orthodox sunni Muslims, but who belonged to Shī'ah Islam. [1]

Works of missionaries are not included in the bibliography. This is not so surprising when one remembers how little missionary work there has been in the Sahara. Yet it is rather surprising that a great Saharan like Father Charles de Foucauld is not mentioned with one word. He was already known as explorer and ethnologist before he became a missionary. Lhote says about his manuscripts that they represent "an inexhaustible source of documents of great value to researchers, linguists and ethnologists." [2] Otherwise missionaries are mentioned on the publisher's cover flap only. There is one exception. He has praise for George Borrow, who saved the Spanish gypsies from oblivion (p. 160). George Borrow was an Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Foot notes are rare in this book, and some of them are certainly unnecessary for the general reader. Thus, for example, the footnote on "sight hounds" and "scent hounds" (p. 24), the one on blood groups (p. 67) and the footnote on "couscous" (p. 112) could easily have been included in the explanation already given in the glossary. But what if the author had his New England farmer audience in mind? This reviewer would, on the contrary, have appreciated a number of other footnotes in this work. He would have liked to know *who* said or stated or suggested this or that when the author writes: "it has been said," or "it has been said repeatedly," or "it has been suggested," or "it has been stated emphatically." Over against statements by lecturers or writers to which he objects, he says bluntly: "but it is not true that . . . ," or "there is no difference," and sometimes with more care "it is not necessarily so," or "it is more logical that . . ." Whom is he contradicting? How can the reader know that Briggs is right and the others are wrong?

---

[1] See article by reviewer, "The Mozabites of Algeria" in *The Moslem World*, July, 1947 [Ed.]

[2] Henri Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Payot, Paris, 1944, p. 8.

Let us take one important instance. Briggs says: „As for the young [Tuareg] ladies, it is probably safe to say that most of them remain virgins until they wed, even though the usual age of marriage is twenty to twenty-five for women and close to thirty for men" (p. 129). Henri Lhote, a specialist on Tuareg life, has claimed that hardly any of the young ladies are virgins at their marriage, a statement backed up by a reference to the work of Dr. Vermale.[3] But Briggs is quite convinced that his own conclusion is right, and, quoting from an authority on the "courtly love complex" in southwestern France and southern Germany during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he exclaims: "Here at last is a rational explanation of the truly courtly behavior which sets the Tuareg apart from all other Saharan peoples..." (p. 133). The reader would like to believe it. But how could Lhote be so wrong? Or is Lhote wrong?

Some questions of religious importance must be taken up here. The author says, for example: "As in most Moslem communities, [Tuareg] women never take part in religious ceremonies" (p. 164). Granted that he means public ceremonies, religious ceremonies together with men, this question must still be asked: What about women's own religious duties and observances? In fact, what about the inner workings of religion in these tribes, for men as well as for women?

The author also writes this: "The Tuaregs are lukewarm and superficial converts [to Islam]" (p. 163). In this they are like other Berber groups, some of which are being more deeply Islamized before our very eyes. But, as Jean Servier has shown, very old pagan traditions may still live inside this Islam. Despite this fact, experience has proved that a person who is only half Islamized still feels himself a Muslim and sociologically is firmly attached to a religion he follows badly. He will listen to Muslim preachers and close his heart to preachers of another religion. What about the inner workings of such a religion?

To conclude, the work is a source book on matters relating to the material lot of these populations.

---

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 289.

Constantine, Algeria — Willy N. Heggoy

A Political Study of the Arab-Jewish Conflict. By Rony E. Gabbay; Librairie E. Droz, 8, rue Verlaine, Geneva, 1959; pp. vii, 611, maps, charts, statistical tables, paper, 50 Frs. Sw.

One of the most difficult international issues of our day is the Arab-Jewish conflict. Much material has been written on this subject. Dr. Gabbay's very exhaustive work is not just another book on Arab-Jewish relations. Here is an extremely useful volume for anyone wanting to make a detailed study of the issues involved and of the many attempts made to find a solution to the Arab Refugee Problem. The author, a student in the field of political science and economics, prepared this material as a case study in pursuance of his doctorate at L'Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales.

The purpose of the study was "to contribute in analyzing the basic

components of the Arab-Jewish conflict, tracing its remote causes and describing its development since the establishment of Palestine as a political entity after the first World War."

More than a third of the volume is given to copious notes and to the detailed references from which the author secured his facts. There is evidence of very careful examination of all UN documents and reports related to the subject. This in itself is a tremendous undertaking. In addition, the author has brought together material from many Arab, Jewish, European and American sources. After reading the volume one feels that the political facts have been presented in a fair, impartial way. In one very brief statement reference is made to the work of the voluntary agencies. It is understandable why the work of these agencies was not included. On the other hand, the whole story of what has been done for the refugees cannot be told without some account of the work of these agencies that have over the past twelve years supplemented the work of the UN agencies in the care of the refugees.

The last chapter, which gives a brief summary and then the author's own point of view about the future, is the one chapter which, no doubt, will call forth strong agreement from some readers and just as strong disagreement from others. This is one of the very reasons why the whole question seems to defy solution.

This scholarly work, with its very detailed and complete bibliography, will be a useful volume to all who follow carefully events in the Near East and who share in the deep concern that a solution be found for the Arab Refugee Problem.

Garrett Biblical Institute,
Evanston, Illinois

GLORA M. WYSNER

L'Islam en Asie. By Jean-Paul Roux; Payot, 106, Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris, 1958; pp. 304, paper; 13,00 NF.

"Is it possible to write about the Muslim world and not include the Arabs?" asks Mr. Jean-Paul Roux concerning his book *Islam in Asia.* If he answers the question in the affirmative, it is not indeed to underestimate the role of the Arabs in the Muslim world as a whole, but rather to demonstrate the importance of Islam on the continent of Asia and to disclose its unrecognized unity. The legitimacy of the author's effort is not contested, for is not Islam, like Christianity, almost universal?

However, Asia is such a vast continent, the countries forming it are so numerous and diverse, that Mr. Roux's handling of his subject assumes the form of a manual marked by both the advantages and the drawbacks to which a book of this type is subject. Indeed, the author has undertaken to discuss: the spread of Islam in Asia, the Muslim states of Asia, the secularization of the Islamic world, the ideal of a Muslim fatherland, anticolonialism and, finally, Islam as the religian of a minority.

Thus this work becomes a kind of encyclopedia of Islam in Asia. The reader will find interesting passages about countries relatively unknown, as the Muslim republics in the U.S.S.R., or about questions such as

the abolition of the caliphate. There is hardly a subject of note pertaining to the Muslim world that is not considered with competence in Mr. Roux's book. Admittedly, the author skims through certain pages, provoking the reader to wish that he had proceeded at a slower pace that would have permitted enlargement upon his ideas and a more satisfactory substantiation of them.

But Mr. Roux is swept along by the immense amount of material to cover and, pursuing his course, he invites the reader to turn over the pages and continue with him.

Mr. Roux closes his preface with these words, "I should like this book to be for myself, as well as for others, an attempt in understanding." This effort to understand is evident on every page. Whether it be a question of the Prophet himself, the spread of Islam, or the existing situation and problems which Muslims face today, Mr. Roux's attitude remains one of comprehension marked by impartiality. As a result, he enters within the pale of the world he observes. In certain cases, the author exceeds understanding and becomes too indulgent. For instance, he considers the use of the sword as almost inevitable in the course of religious history, or supposes that the Prophet's weaknesses were indispensable for drawing him closer to his fellow-men. However, this indulgence on the author's part matters little in view of the commendable effort he has made toward a better understanding of our Muslim friends. The fact remains that Western opinion concerning them continues to be prejudiced and unfair. We of the West owe it to the Muslims to appreciate them for what they are and to understand Islam as it is and not as we suppose it to be.

In a chapter cruelly significant for our times, and entitled "Mistrust of the West," the author, with great clarity of thought, indicates the manifestation of a trend toward the union of all believers, especially of all the followers of Abraham. He said, "Faith in the same God of Abraham and devotion to the same biblical tradition give rise to a hope, the enlargement of which remains to us" (p. 199).

El-Biar,
Algeria

PAUL BRÈS

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

The Night of Power (Sūrah XCVII). Following is a translation of al-Baiḍāwī's commentary on the ninety-seventh Sūrah of the Qur'ān.

(We revealed it on the Night of Power). pronoun is in reference to the Qur'ān, whose distinction lies in its being suppressed, without specific mention to bear witness to it in its illusriousness, dispensing with explication, just as He exalted it through the attribution of its inspiration to Him; and He exalted the time at which He revealed it in His saying,

(and what has taught thee what the Night of Power is? The Night of Power is better than a thousand months), and its revelation (that night) lies in the fact that its revelation commenced then; or He revealed it in portions (bringing it down) from the Tablet to the Lowest Heaven on a platter. Thereafter Gabriel (on whom be prayers and peace) would bring it down to the Apostle of Allah (may Allah bless him and grant him peace) over the like of twenty-three years. And it is said the meaning of "We revealed it" is in accord with its excellence; and it (the night) was in the odd dates in the last tenth) of Ramaḍān, and it may have been the seventh of them; and the motive in concealing it (the night) is that he who desires it should pass many nights; and naming it thus is due to its honourable status; or to the determination of affairs in it, owing to the Almighty's saying: "In it every wise affair is decided." And the mention of "the thousand" is either "for high accounting" or because of what is related of the Prophet to the effect that he mentioned an Israelite who donned armour in the way of God for a thousand months; and the believers were amazed; and their own doings were minimized, so they presented the Night of Power as being better than the whole period of that warrior.

(In it the angels and the Spirit with them descend by permission of their Lord). It is a demonstration of what makes it preferred to a thousand months; and their descent is to earth or the lowest heaven or their near approach to the believers; **(for every command),** for the sake of every matter decreed that year; and there is a reading of "every human," that is for the sake of any man.

(Peace it is). What is that but security? That is, Allah decrees nothing on it except security and determines on other (nights) security and trial. Or what is it but "Peace" (in greeting), because of the quantity of greetings that people make to believers in it ?

(till the rising of the dawn) that is the time of its rising or its coming-up. Al-Kisā'ī reads with a *kasra* on the assumption that it is like *marji*ᶜ (in vocalisation) or the name of a (period of) time with

no rule like *mashriq*. A tradition of the Prophet says that he who recites Sūrat al-Qadr shall be given as reward the like of one who fasts (during) Ramaḍān and passes the Night of Power (awake).

NOTES.

1. This Sūrah seems generally considered Meccan subsequent to Sūrat ᶜAbs; but al-Baiḍāwī implies a difference of opinion.

2. The "Spirit" descending with the angels on the Night of Power must almost certainly be a reference to Gabriel, as al-Baiḍāwī implies in his comment. It is very tempting to suggest that in this verse there is an echo of the Lukan account of the Night of the Nativity, when "suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host." At all events there is a curious parallel. "In the beginning was the Word."

Redhill ERIC F. F. BISHOP
Surrey, England.

Easter Impressions of City of Wrong.[1] "At the Glorious Easter Season. *City of Wrong* ... Memory — Greeting."

"On the occasion of this glorious festival, I remembered *City of Wrong*, by our scholarly doctor and man of letters, Dr. Muhammad Kamel Hussein.

"I turned back to it and reread it in its English translation which appeared a few months ago. At that time I had preferred to leave it until I was free for it, so, as the Easter feast drew near, I took it up with great eagerness and enthusiasm. It seemed good to me that I should read it during the feast days.

"I confess that this time I did not read it to enjoy it, since the story is not new to me. I had read it when it first appeared, in its original Arabic language, and at the time suggested on the pages of *Al-Ahram* that it be translated into the most prominent European languages. In it the West would observe an example of our modern literature which, by its originality, vitality and profundity, would refute the accusation of dry imitation and superficiality which some Western writers like to attach to Arab literature as a whole, old and new.

"I tried before, when engaged in studying 'The Message of Forgiveness' by Abū'l-ᶜAlāᵓ, to use it in reply to these charges of the Orientalists. But I returned only sporadically to this attempt before

---

[1] The above article appeared in *Al-Ahram*, Cairo, Egypt, April 19, 1960, under the pen name of Dr. Bint al-Shāṭi whose real name is Dr. Aisha ᶜAbd al-Rahman and who is now teaching Arabic Literature at ᶜAin Shams University, Cairo. Through her books and her participation in the publication of the monthly *al-Adāb* her reputation in *belles-lettres* has been established. Though a year has passed since the appearance of the *al-Ahram* article, we are pleased to reproduce the writer's impression on her reading the work by Dr. M. Kamel Hussein at Easter time, and refer the reader to the review of this book in the present issue of this Quarterly, as well as articles pertaining thereto in the April and July, 1956, issues. The Arabic edition of *Qaryah Ẓālimah* was published in Cairo in 1954. The English rendering of the present *al-Ahram* article is by Kenneth E. Nolin, Assiut. [Ed.]

the appearance of *City of Wrong*. Then I longed that it be translated, to correct this idea of Westerners about our literature.

"For that reason I was very careful in my reading of the English translation, with intense patience and exactitude, in order to be satisfied with the form in which our unique story has been transported into the Western library. I wanted to see the extent of the foreign translator's ability to perceive its basic secret and plunge to its profound depths, even though I never really hoped that he would do it in all the superb inspiration of the Arabic style.

"However, I had barely read the first few pages when I was convinced of the translator's ability, his understanding and good taste, and I continued to read, eager to hear again the message of *City of Wrong*.

"I concluded the reading as church bells were ringing their greeting to the glorious memorial, and went on meditating on the visions of that Friday when a whole city agreed upon injustice and tyranny. The conscience of its people—as individuals—weakened under the awful burden, simply because of an iniquitous sharing which spread the heavy responsibility over all the city's people, not one of them feeling its weight.

"Then again I became aware of the present, the year 1960, and I felt an overwhelming spiritual pleasure as I listened to the bells tolling out the triumph of Right and Good, blessing the name of the Lord Christ (on him peace). The City of Wrong supposed that it had put and end to him when it condemned him to crucifixion. But he lived on to fill all history and life, and the agonies he endured because of his message were blessed.

"Then another memory came to my mind, an incident which took place less than three years ago. I had chosen *City of Wrong* as a subject for study in Literary Criticism in the University, and presented an analysis covering five lectures, in which it was apparent that I assign this literary effort to the loftiest place in modern Arabic literature. After a week one of the students wrote a criticism of the story, taking Doctor Muhammad Kamel Hussein to task for writing it convinced of the victory of evil, letting the events lead to their tragic end without manipulating them so that the victory of Good would be possible and even probable. The student critic said that she was aware that the city's injustice was a historical fact, but knew also that a writer enjoys a freedom to present the historical material in a way which would have put us at ease about the right of humanity in the victory of Good.

"I read the criticism, and, since I did not find it convincing, I sent it to our great scholar. It never crossed my mind that this would in any way detract from his position, or lessen the value of his unique work.

"Some days passed, and we received a letter from the Doctor and man of letters. He opened it with a greeting of admiration for the attempt at critical analysis, and his sincere appreciation of the careful comment made by the critic about the story. But then he quite humbly drew her attention to the fact that what seems to be a victory for evil,

in the condemnation of the Lord Christ to crucifixion, was not in historical truth or observed reality anything but a decisive end to evil and a real victory for the message of Christ. It does not degrade that victory that a prophet gave his life as the cost of his message. Rather, this is real glory."

Then the scholar wrote in conclusion: "If I was unable to convince you of that when you read *City of Wrong,* then that is undoubtedly due to inadequacy in my presentation, one which I hope you will forgive, since I am only human."

"I read the letter that day in the lecture hall, taking it as a lesson by which the young could know scholarly ethics and learn the sacredness of criticism, the honor of the word, and the honesty of scholarship.

"Today memory lingers with me, mingling with the echo of the bells which announce the victory of Good. So I take my pen in hand to write this column in praise of the Lord Christ (on him peace) and in commendation of the inspired pen which wrote *City of Wrong.*"

The Library of Ignace Goldziher in Jerusalem. In connection with my article *My Reminiscences of Ignace Goldziher* in the January, 1961, issue of *The Muslim World,* pp. 1-13, Professor H. Baneth of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was so kind as to send me, under date of November 8, 1960, detailed information of how the library of Ignace Goldziher was set up at Jerusalem. As this information arrived too late to be inserted in my article, I now give it as follows.

When the library of Ignace Goldziher reached Jerusalem about the middle of 1924, it was not kept as a separate unit. In conformity with the policy of the Jewish National and University Library according to which all of its books should be arranged according to their subjects, some of Goldziher's books went to the Hebraica and Judaica Department. The Oriental books of his private library formed for a number of years the main stock of the Oriental Department of the Jewish National and University Library, and were kept in one room from 1924 to 1929. This room, as well as the whole building, was commonly known as "Goldziher Library," though it gradually included more and more additions from other sources as well.

When, in 1929, the Library, together with the other departments of the Hebrew University, moved to Mount Scopus, the Oriental books had necessarily to be arranged in their proper stacks, but a large part of them were placed in the Oriental Reading Room. Many, though not all, of Goldziher's books were then provided with appropriate *ex libris* marks, and in two places of the stacks where many of Goldziher's books were kept they were marked with large copper plates. Consequently, it is in the broad sense of the word that we can say that Goldziher's library is kept distinctly in the University Library of Jerusalem.

There is some uncertainty with regard to the purchase price of the collection. Professor H. Baneth informs me that the sum, unlike that mentioned in my article in the January, 1961, issue (p. 12), was 2,500 pounds sterling.

Joseph de Somogyi

Christian Study Seminar on Islam.

A Christian Study Seminar on Islam united forty-three delegates at the Hartford Seminary Foundation on October 21-22, 1960. In four sessions they studied the place of Islam in the modern revolutionary world. Speakers were Dr. John Badeau, on Egypt; Dr. Daud Rahbar, on Pakistan; and Dr. William Polk, on Iraq. Devotional services were led by the Reverend Frederick Wilson of Iran, presently working with the Presbyterian Church in its Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations in New York. The final discussion was led by Dr. Rodney Sunberg, also of the Commission, and revolved about the question of the Christian relation to Islam.

Dr. Badeau insisted that the revolution in Egypt has been a "revolution in depth," a profound attempt to work out widespread and radically new solutions to the country's problems. This effort has inevitably come in conflict with the traditional patterns of Islam. However, because of a desire to find some basis of union with all Arab groups, the leaders have encouraged Islam and pan-Arabism. But in all of this they have used an essentially pragmatic approach, working out step by step the program best suited to immediate needs.

In Pakistan, emphasized Dr. Rahbar, there can be found potential leadership for new, creative thinking in Islam. He felt that, following the example of the great thinkers and writers who led in the formation of Pakistan as a Muslim state, such as Sir Sayyid Ahmad and the poet Iqbal, it should be possible for Pakistani Muslims to lead the Muslim world in a modern reform movement. Christians can help in this by entering into searching studies of the profound theological questions in Islam until fruitful inter-faith studies become feasible. This will ultimately be the most effective kind of Christian witness to Islam.

Dr. William Polk spoke out of his personal contacts with Iraq in his many visits there. He pointed out that Islam is not as effective in the modern movements of Iraq as it is in other parts of the Middle East. Leadership has come from the secular nationalist group of young men who have been educated abroad. These have come in contact with Arab leaders of other countries and have a vision of pan--Arabism as a uniting factor in the progress of the Middle-East. There is a reaching back to a pre-Islamic Arabism of ideas rather than to traditional Islam. The question of the future basis for unity in Iraq remains.

K.E.N.

Worship in the New Turkey. The head of the provisional Turkish, Government, General Gursel, and the President of The Office of Religious Affairs, the highest religious authority in the Turkish Government, seem to disagree over policy in regard to the language of worship in the future in Turkish mosques.

General Gursel, taking the line that is generally set forth by Turkish intellectuals, declared recently in an address delivered at The Islamic Institute (a department of the Imam ve Hatip School in Istanbul, and former Premier Menderes' first effort toward re-establishing a modern

medrese in Turkey) that Islam must transform itself into The Turkish Spirit. The Qur'ān must be read in Turkish, all proceedings of Muslim worship must be translated into Turkish, and the call to prayer, which was once given in Turkish after the Ataturk Revolution, but which was changed back to Arabic in 1950 when the Democratic Party came to power, must again be given in Turkish. The General declared that Turks must become deeply religious, but that this would not be possible as long as Islam insisted upon presenting itself in complete Arabic form.

But this point of view met serious objections from Omer Bilmen, President of the Office of Religious Affairs, and former Mufti of Istanbul. Bilmen's position became apparent when an Istanbul mosque, anxious to please the new government, began giving its call to prayer in Turkish. Bilmen censured this act. When questioned about his position, and about the whole issue of a Turkish *namaz* and a Turkish Qur'ān, he answered that these never could be. For 1200 years, he declared, Islam had presented itself in this form. Bilmen is the author of one of the most complete books in Turkish on the interpretation of Islamic practices. This volume is the standard reference work for local Muftis. During the controversy three years ago over the translation of the Qur'ān into Turkish, Bilmen, a member of the advisory board of The Office of Religious Affairs at that time sided with the President of that Office who came out firmly against any Turkish Qur'ān, or even any transliterated Qur'ān from Arabic to Turkish letters.

J.A.K.

Turkey's New Constitution. The long-awaited Constitution of the proposed Second Republic of Turkey has been finally released. A little longer than the old Constitution, it also creates a very different political order. This time the model seems to have been the constitutional government of the United States of America. The most radical change is the separation of powers into the executive, the judiciary, and the legislative. A two-house legislature has been set up, and a supreme constitutional court is provided for.

The new constitution also calls for a special "Bill of Human Rights" section, which spells out the neutral character of the Second Republic with regard to religion. While the old constitution did this also, the drafters of the new constitution spelled out religious freedom in more direct and certain terms. One of the most radical changes is the removal of "millet," or religious affiliation, from all official identification papers, on which, under the old republic, every citizen had to declare his religion.

Excerpts from the Constitution, which will be submitted to the people for their approval, follow:

"Everyone is equal before the law without regard to his beliefs, opinions, and thoughts concerning politics, philosophy, conscience or religion, and without regard to sex, race, native language, or personal or social status. It is forbidden to give preference to a person, a family, a group, or a class."

"Everyone possesses freedom of belief, opinion, and thought in political, philosophical, and religious matters. Everyone has the right to disseminate and state his beliefs, opinions, and thoughts individually or in groups, by the spoken word, in writing, with pictures, or by whatever means."

"It is prohibited to censor or to require permission for publishing books or pamphlets, or for producing plays or operas, or for producing or showing movies."

"Courts may, through due process of law, order a book to be collected, forbid a theatrical production, or the production or showing of a film only in such acts that would enroach on the national security, general well-being, public morals, or on the good name and honor or the rights of individuals."

"Provided that they are not contrary to public morals and order, worship and religious services are free from interference. No person, class, group, political party, or public organization may disturb a religious service or the freedom to hold a service, nor forbid one, nor may require attendance of anyone to any religious service. The Government may aid the minority group (ed. note: Christians, Bahā'i, and Shī'ī Muslims) in what is necessary for their religion and teachings. This will be considered a public service. No adult, and no child without the consent of his parents or guardian, may be required to receive religious instruction. No person may be required to state his religious beliefs, either directly or indirectly. On official papers there shall be no designation of one's religious beliefs. No religious group may use any pressure on the government to gain special favors for its religious beliefs. Nor may any religious group exert pressure on individuals or society, nor may it act to inspect the ways or beliefs of others. It is forbidden to use religious feelings, or objects believed by religious men to be holy, for political or personal advantage, personal gain, or evil purposes. Those who violate these prohibitions or incite others to violation of them are punishable under a special law, and the political parties or organizations are to be closed by order of The Constitutional Court, and local organizations by the court that has local jurisdiction."

It is obvious that the framers of the new constitution sought not only to prevent a future party from using religious pressure as the deposed Democratic Party used in recent years, but it also appears that the new constitution seeks to reach even deeper into the personal lives of the Turks, and attempt to prohibit the use of social pressures to enforce open observance of religious holidays like Ramaḍān and the religious festivals. This attempt is perhaps the most radically new one by a sophisticated educated elite to protect itself from religious pressures. A summary reading of the new constitution indicates that the Ataturkian secularism triumphed. Elsewhere in the other articles covering the composition of the government and the economy there appears to be a movement toward extending "state socialism" which was also an implied economic philosophy of the pure Kemalism.

What the actual results of the new religious freedoms will be, only time and the temper of the courts will tell. As a general rule, Turkish society does not have a long tradition of dissent. One who protests the

general thought patterns usually makes his protests in his own inner conscience, and effects a semblance of "ordinary" behaviour as he goes through the motions of living day by day. Firm and active opposition to the established order is not in the tradition. But it will be of great interest to followers of Muslim cultural development to see if the second Turkish revolution may create some room for political and religious dissent. Though the provisions granting religious freedom seem to open the society to a little more fluidity of movement, other provisions which prevent the "forcing" and "teaching" of religious beliefs against one's will could be so understood and enforced that the freedom gained by the positive statements could be checked. There are still echoes of the traditional "millet" system here, even though officially this system was destroyed when one's religious membership was stricken from all public records. The religious freedoms appear to be "slanted" toward freedom for the secular man. There is one thing sure, the new constitution checks the development of Orthodox Islam as it was under the former Menderes Government. It will call for a remaking of the religious education program now in force in all Turkish schools. Henceforth parental consent will be necessary for such instruction before a child enrolls. Also, depending on the climate of opinion, there may be less pressure upon parents to give this consent, and less pressure upon the departments of education to stress the courses in the schools.

Reversing a previous vow, General Gursel, head of the provisional Turkish Government, has announced that he will run for president on a non-political basis. He indicates that he will do this to inaugurate the separation of powers in the government. The honeymoon of the early days of the Second Turkish revolution is over, and the unexperienced and highly idealistic revolutionary military officers have realized that it takes more than "words" and "ideals" to get the Turkish economy back into shape, and to bind up the wounds that are deep and which almost brought the nation to the brink of a bloody civil war. The extent of that "bad blood" has been brought to light by the various investigation committees, as well as the really serious condition of the total Turkish economy. The former government, through various activities, including the building of over 3,500 new mosques in the past six years, was able to keep the problem away from the masses of the Turkish people. By bottling up the press, and holding a tight hand on the intellectuals, the government was able also to muffle the protests of those in Turkey who would understand economics.

The present government is still faced with the task of "selling" the Second Revolution to the Turkish peasant. They have gone about this in two ways: groups of teachers, army officers, and even members of the Revolutionary Junta themselves, have travelled from village to village, explaining the revolution, and telling of the abuses of the former government. But this first venture proved more educational to the intellectuals than perhaps it did for the peasant. The intellectuals discovered what few Turkish intellectuals in the past would really believe, that the villager does not understand the principles of economic planning and constitutional law, nor is he greatly affected by promises of "religious,"

"philosophical," and "intellectual" freedom. He seems deeply interested in improving his economic lot, and he remembers that the former government paid attention to him for the first time, and brought him roads and water lines.

Learning this, the government then launched a new approach to compensate for the peasant's lack of concern for the subtle freedoms gained in the revolution. The government announced a crash school-building program, and indicated that for some time to come all girls graduating from *lise* (junior college) level in the next few years would be pressed into village teaching. Sensing the villager's need for and desire to obtain medical service, the government also has indicated a radical socialized medical program that will almost wipe out private medical practice and redistribute the doctors more evenly all over Turkey. At present the doctors are concentrated in the large cities, where they can find the money and the social environment that is to their liking. The Turkish professional finds the village without the material and cultural things that he has come to desire and need. A radical social revolution of the village must come before the professional man can live there with comfort and also as a "member" of the community. The road that must be travelled is one from a peasant society to an urbanized small town.

J.A.K.

Corrigendum

Dr. Joseph de Somogyi's article "My Reminiscences of Ignace Goldziher" which appeared in the January, 1961, issue of this Quarterly requires the following corrections. On page six, line eighteen, the correct dates are 1850-1921. On page eight, line nine should read: "consisting of two lectures a week, supplemented with one lecture a week, on selected topics..." (Ed.)

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

I. GENERAL

AFGHANISTAN. PERSIA. *Central Asian Review,* London, 1960, part 1. pp. 62-68 and 69-79. Lists Russian publications on these two countries in 1958-'59.

THE ANCIENT DESERT AGRICULTURE OF THE NEGEV. *Israel Exploration Journal,* Jerusalem, 1960, part 1. pp. 23-36; part 2, 97-111. The fifth section of a detailed study.

"CITY OF WRONG". Luther T. Engelbrecht. *Bulletin of the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies,* Secunderabad, India, April-June, 1960, pp. 20-29; 37. The author presents the third part of his review of Dr. Kenneth Cragg's translation of *Qaryah Zalimah* by Muhammad Kamel Hussein.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, Summer, 1960, pp. 292-321. Covers March 16—June 15, 1960 and comments on the various crises which have overthrown Middle Eastern regimes in recent years.

FUZÛLÎ, POÈTE EN TROIS LANGUES. A. Karahan. *Studia Islamica,* Paris, 1959, pp. 93-111. Analyzes the productions of this poet (1480-1554) who wrote in Arabic, Turkish and Persian with equal facility.

KURDISH LANGUAGE STUDIES. Ernest R. McCarus. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, Summer, 1960, pp. 325-335. A bibliographical article.

SLAVERY AND ISLAM. Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah. *Muslim Digest,* Durban, March, 1960, pp. 29-32. A defence of the practice under the Quran.

SOVIET MUSLIM LITERATURE AND THE PARTY LINE. *Central Asian Review,* London, 1960, part 1. pp. 24-32. Discusses material published during March through August, 1959 in the six Soviet-Muslim republics.

LA TRANSCENDANCE DU LANGAGE DE L'ANTIQUITÉ À NOS JOURS EN PASSANT PAR LE MONDE ARABE MÉDIÉVAL. J. Lecerf. *Studia Islamica,* Paris, 1960, pp. 5-28.

TUNIS DIARY. Catherine Hoskyns. *Africa South in Exile,* London, July-September, 1960, pp. 104-111. A resumé of the All African People's Conference held in Tunis, January 25-31, 1960.

THE UNITY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD IN THE "MIDDLE" MIDDLE AGES. S. D. Goitein. *Studia Islamica,* Paris, 1960, pp. 29-42. An account of the great amount of travelling done during this period as recounted in the Cairo Geniza.

II. HISTORY OF ISLAM

AMADOU HAMPATÉ BA: A PROPAGATOR OF THE MOSLEM FAITH. *Réalités,* Paris, Septembre, 1960, pp. 48-50. Adviser to several West African political leaders, this Muslim sage tells how Islam, because of its adaptability, outstrips Christianity in gaining native converts.

LES CHIITES ET L'UNITÉ DE L'ISLAM D'AUJOURD'HUI. Pierre Rondot.

Orient, Paris, 1959, part 4, pp. 61-70. Some tentative attempts are being made to bring a measure of accord to the two major divisions of Islam.

Un groupe social : les Rafinés. M. F. Ghazi. *Studia Islamica,* Paris, 1959, pp. 38-71. Examines the influence of these "over-nice" people in medieval Islam.

The objectives and goals of the National Democratic Party of Iraq. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, Summer, 1960, pp. 322-324. After a brief introduction, Mr. Brijen K. Gupta presents his translation of the Document offered in 1950 by President Kamil al-Chadarchi to members of the Party.

A Sudanese historical legend. P. M. Holt. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London, 1960, part 1, pp. 1-12. Tells of the Funj who gained control of the Muslim tribes of the Nilotic Sudan in the 16th century.

The unity of later Islamic history. Marshall G. S. Hodgson. *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale,* Neuchatel, 1960, pp. 879-914. Deals with Islamic civilization and history from 1330 to 1775.

III. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

An approach to the problem of the sources of the Kitāb al-Aġānī. Leon Zolondek. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago, July, 1960, pp. 217-234. Examines in detail this work by Abu'l-Faraj, who died in 967 and who provided the most important material on the literary and social history of the Arabs and Islam up to that time.

The early Ismā'īlī missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania. S. M. Stern. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London, 1960, pp. 56-90. Efforts at that time were directed to converting the ruling classes instead of the masses, but were not very successful.

Le particularisme ibadite au Mzab. Jacques Carret. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris, 1960, part 1, pp. 38-46. This Algerian Muslim sect is exempt from the provision of the Marriage Law of February, 1959.

The principal offices of the Ṣafawid state during the reign of Ismā'īl I (1501-1524). R. M. Savory. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London, 1960, part 1, pp. 91-105. Shows the separation of politics and religion at this time.

Le problème zurvanite. M. Molé. *Journal Asiatique,* Paris, 1959, part 4, pp. 431-469. Points out the rivalry and differences in the two Zoroastrian sects—the Mazdeans and the Zurvanites—and attempts to show that the distinctions are not justified by Pahlevi writings.

Problems of modern Islamic legislation. J. S. Schacht. *Studia Islamica,* Paris, 1960, pp. 99-130. The author explains how, after more than 1200 years, Islamic lawyers are faced to-day with problems similar to those encountered in the 7th and 8th centuries.

IV. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

Les Bida'. M. Talbi. *Studia Islamica,* Paris, 1960, pp. 43-78. Discusses

this phase of Muslim law which is so important in preserving the Islamic way of life, the unity of the Community, the stifling of heresies, and the struggle against too much modernism.

Change and continuity in a Moroccan immigrant village in Israel. Alex Weingrod. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Summer, 1960, pp. 277-291. From 1948 to 1956 about 120.000 Moroccan Jews settled in Israel and, from examination of conditions in a village near Beersheba, it appears that a good adjustment has been made.

Dispositions nouvelles dans le statut successoral en Droit tunisien. J. Rossier. *Studia Islamica,* Paris, 1960, pp. 131-144. Describes rights of succession as promulgated in a law of June, 1959, which supplements the "Code du Statut Personnel" of August, 1956.

Education du milieu rural. M. Callens. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis, 1959, part 4, pp. 401-417. Efforts at teaching face great difficulties in rural Tunisia.

Education sanitaire et sociale de la population. M. Ben Salem. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis, 1959, part 4, pp. 419-439. Describes instruction in hygiene.

La formation professionnelle des adults dans l'est algérien. A. Lebert. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris, 1960, part 1, pp. 55-60. Deals with problems in technical education.

Irrigation in Central Asia. *Central Asian Review,* London, 1960, part 1, pp. 44-51. Covers available water resources and indicates work done in actual irrigation procedures.

La Lutte contre l'analphabétisme en Tunis. Michel Lelong. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis, 1959, part 4, pp. 393-400. Steps are being taken to combat illiteracy but the enormous problem will need international help.

Oeuvres de bienfaisance et oeuvres sociales en Syrie. A. M. Goichon. *Orient,* Paris, 1959, pp. 95-128. Continues a preceding article.

La situation des artisans et petits commerçants en Égypte de la fin du XVIIIe siècle jusqu'au milieu de XIXe. N. Tomiche. *Studia Islamica,* Paris, 1960, pp. 79-98. An historical article.

Les vents du Kurdistan. M. Mokri. *Journal Asiatique,* Paris, 1959, part 4, pp. 479-504. A thorough study of the importance of the various winds to the peasants in their agricultural activities and in their folklore.

V. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Algerian War. Anthony Wedgwood Binn, *Africa South in Exile,* London, July-September, 1960, pp. 98-103. The author believes that a probable solution will come through the United Nations and an international settlement.

L'Irak et ses voisins. Marcel Colombe. *Orient,* Paris, 1959, part 4, pp. 13-18. Praise for General Qāsim's ability to handle domestic and foreign problems.

Islam and the political order. Kenneth Cragg. *Frontier,* London.

Autumn, 1960. pp. 194-200. Discusses the difficulties to be met after Western withdrawals from newly independent countries.

Le litige frontalier entre l'Irak et L'Iran. Pierre Rossi. *Orient,* Paris, 1959, part 4, pp. 19-26. Seeks to indicate the real cause for the long-standing dispute over the Shatt al-Arab.

La mission à Damas du maréchal égyptien Abd al-Hakim Amer. Marcel Colombe. *Orient,* Paris, 1959, part 4, pp. 27-35. An account of "the most important development in the United Arab Republic since its creation in February, 1958."

On the economic feasibility of a Middle Eastern common market. Daniel H. Garnick. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, Summer, 1960, pp. 265-276. Indicates progress made in such a programme undertaken by Turkey, Iraq, Israel, and Egypt. Statistics.

Où en est le Sudan? André Ribaud. *Orient,* Paris. 1959, part 4, pp. 37-44. Tells of General ᶜAbūd's first year of power in the young country.

The peoples of Central Asia—the Soviet period since 1945. *Central Asian Review,* London, 1960, part 1, pp. 5-13. Russian culture is disseminated mainly through the schools.

Quelques réflexions sur la démocratic en Orient. Pierre Rondot. *Orient,* Paris, 1960, part 1, pp. 5-9. The author suggests that army rule may be the prelude to the rule of the middle classes.

Somalia: the problems of independence. Anthony S. Reyner. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, Summer, 1960, pp. 247-255. Written before the merger of Somalia with British Somaliland Protectorate into the Republic of Somalia, the author gives a rather discouraging picture of a poor country lacking resources and money.

Uneasy head that wears Jordan's crown. Richard P. Hunt. *New York Times Magazine,* N.Y., November 6, 1960, pp. 30; 87-92. High praise for Jordan's young ruler who is courageous and farsighted in his planning for his country.

VI. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

L'apostolat des musulmans. René Caron. *Église Vivante,* Paris, September-Octobre, 1960, pp. 331-341. Suggests that the present is a fitting time for a thorough Christian effort in the "effervescent" Muslim World, where changes are coming so rapidly.

The historical meeting of Islam and the West. Muhammad Asad. *The Muslim Digest,* Durban, March, 1960, pp. 113-120. A comparison of Christianity and Islam.

A new assessment of the Christian encounter with Islam. John B. Carman. *Bulletin of the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies,* Secunderabad, India, April-June, 1960, pp. 38-51. The first part of a comprehensive review of W. A. Bijlefeld's dissertation, "Islam as a post-Christian religion: an enquiry into the theological evaluation of Islam." State University of Utrecht. 1959.

Singapora and Malaya, 1949-1960. The Right Reverend H. W. Baines. *The East and West Review,* London, October, 1960, pp. 113-121. After a short historical sketch, Bishop Baines outlines the

work being done in this vast area where so many more priests and lay workers are needed.

Le Protestantisme au Proche-Orient. J.-M. Hornus. *Proche Orient Chrétien,* Jérusalem Janvier-Mars, 1960, pp. 26-41. Covers the work of the Presbyterian Board in the area from 1860 to 1910. Avril-Juin, 1960, pp. 146-163. Continues the history of the work of the American mission boards in Syria and Lebanon from 1870-1930

Reference Librarian Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary
New York

MINISTRY OF RECONCILIATION

A Norwegian writer once told a story of two brothers and a gold watch. These two brothers had lived harmoniously until, on the death of their father, the heritage was divided. One precious object of that heritage was a gold watch. Both brothers coveted it; only one could have it. After much argument one of the brothers secured possession of it, but at the price of the estrangement of the other. Consequently for several decades the two brothers and their families lived in virtual hostility. Fraternal love changed to hatred. Poverty, illness, death in the family ensued. The joy, confidence and mutual helpfulness that might have existed between the two households, if the watch had not intervened, were turned into bitterness, suspicion, threats and acts of enmity. Secretly the brothers would have preferred, indeed ardently desired, that the feud end, but neither had the courage or the face to admit it and take the first step of reconciliation. Ironically, through an accident, the gold watch itself was eventually destroyed. Its destruction provided the appropriate occasion for the two brothers to meet, compose their differences, express regrets and vow perpetual love. On this happy note the story ended. But what a price to pay for a perishable gold watch!

In like manner individuals and peoples barter their peace and well-being for metaphorical gold watches—land, trade, power, glory, celebrity, luxury—only to discover after time has spent itself that the prize is trash.

Agreement before alienation is the better part of wisdom. If reasons for discord are discovered, analyzed, acknowledged, understood, a conflict may be avoided. In enlightened communities fires are prevented by finding and removing fire hazards before conflagrations start. But on a larger scale, in world relationships, incendiary incidents produce outbursts of flame before the masses of people concerned become aware of the causes of disaster. Such is the complexity of today's developments, and the rapidity of their consummation, that the principle of prior agreement is highly commendable, if not imperative. There is not a situation in which conflict cannot be avoided by following the sound policy of agreement.

Reconciliation is furthermore a remedy for discord. The two aspects of reconciliation, that between God and man and that between man and man, are interrelated, for ethical principles and conduct are rooted in religious convictions. One's attitude toward his fellow man may be radically conditioned by his mind toward God. Reconciliation as a means to concord has the support of the world's great religions. The Old Testament has much to say about the outward act of sacrifice as a means of being reconciled to an offended God. This primitive view,

however, with time and maturity in religious thinking, has been superseded by an idea implying moral requirements, as for example in the familiar words of the prophet Micah (6 :8): He has showed you, O man, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God? In like manner the prophet Amos declared the inacceptability of religious feasts and exhorted: Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream (5:24).

The Gospel contains the injunction of Jesus, "First be reconciled to your brother" (*iṣṭaliḥ maᶜa akhīka,* Mat. 5:24), which emphasizes the vanity and invalidity of a religious act while in a state of unconsiliation toward one's fellow man. Such is the imperative, within the Christian concern, to effect reconciliation at all costs. Furthermore, and on a higher plane, man-God reconciliation attained a high point in the thinking of the Apostle Paul when he wrote: "All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself (*ṣālaḥanā linafsihi*) and gave us the ministry of reconciliation" (II Cor. 5:18). What a hope! Yet what a ministry to accomplish! If the Church of Christ down the centuries had fulfilled with fidelity this ministry, one wonders, would strife prevail today?

In Islamic thought, conciliatory measures between both individuals and peoples are enjoined. For family matters, "agreement is best" (*al-ṣulḥ khair*), and "if ye come to an understanding... God is forgiving (*in tuṣliḥū*) (Qur. 4:127, 128). Also, "he who forgiveth and is reconciled shall be rewarded by God (*man ᶜafā wa aṣlaḥa fa ajruhu ᶜalā Allāh*) (Qur. 42:38). If two parties are in strife, the injunction is to "make peace between them with fairness" (*aṣliḥū bainahumā bi'l-ᶜadli wa aqsiṭū*) Qur. 49:9, 10). This counsel concerns "believers." But why can it not be applied to all peoples? Should God's ordinances suffer restrictions? It is noteworthy that Dr. D. Rahbar, in his *God of Justice,* explains that the significance of *tawfīq,* as it occurs in three instances in the Qurᵓān, is conciliation, agreement, harmony and concord between people, as opposed to estrangement or a "breach" (pp. 123, 124).

Along with religious sanction our common wisdom should teach us that reconciliation is best for all. That differences should arise is inevitable. As long as human frailties condition conduct, offenses will trouble human relationships. Yet one offense need not necessarily cause a perpetuation of discord. One may fall into a pit of evil, but to remain there is not obligatory. Repetition of an error, knowingly, is hardly commendable. Sound judgment dictates avoidance of its senseless recurrence. Yet how reluctant we are to break away from the thralldom of distasteful experiences of the past. Nations as well as individuals are so enslaved. History records decades-long wars with

(to be continued on page 221)

Continuation of translation of the *Bayān al-Farq bayn al-Ṣadr wa al-Qalb wa al-Fuʾād wa al-Lubb* of Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī.

[Part Four: the Inner Heart]

Know that the inner heart (*fu'ād*) is the seat of vision (*ru'yah*), for the inner heart sees and the heart (*qalb*) knows. If knowledge and vision are combined, the unseen becomes seen and the servant becomes certain in his belief through knowledge, vision (*mushāhadah*), and the reality of the vision of faith. *So whoso seeth, it is for his own good,* [1] and God grants him grace through guidance and help because of his acceptance [of faith]; *and whoso is blind is blind to his own hurt,* [1] and God has evidence against him because of his denial [of faith]. / God said concerning certain knowledge (*'ilm al-yaqīn*) and certain (63)
sight (*'ayn al-yaqīn*): *Nay, would that ye knew with certain knowledge, for ye will behold hell-fire. Aye, ye will behold it with certain sight.* [2]

God informed his prophet Moses that his people had taken a calf to worship. Moses' anger became great at what God had informed him concerning them and he returned to his people angry and grieving. He was carrying with him the tablets and, when he saw them worshipping the calf, he threw down the tablets and seized the head of his brother and drew him toward him. [3] Likewise the Apostle of God said: "God had mercy on my brother Moses, for report [about something] is not equivalent to seeing [it] with the eyes." Moses was told by his Lord: *Lo! we have tried thy folk in thine absence, and the Samaritan hath misled them.* [4] Then when he saw them with his own eyes, his anger and fury increased.

Vision (*ru'yah*) is also attributed to the heart (*qalb*), although the heart sees only with the light that is within it. This is supported by what Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī [5] said to the Bedouin who had asked him: "Have you seen your Lord?" He answered: "I would not worship anything I had not seen." He said: "How did you see Him?" He answered: "Verily, the eyes did not see Him through / eyesight, (64)
but the hearts saw Him through the realities of faith." He thus indicated that vision was through the heart, although by means of the realities of the light of faith.

The heart (*qalb*) and the inner heart (*fuʾād*) can also be referred to by using the word "sight" (*baṣar*) since both of them are places

[1] *Qurʾān,* VI, 104 (105).
[2] *Qurʾān,* CII, 5-7.
[3] This story is given in detail by al-Thaᶜlabī in his *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ,* Cairo, al-Maṭbaᶜah wa al-Maktabah al-Saᶜīdīyah, no date, p. 199.
[4] *Qurʾān,* XX, 8.
[5] Apparently identical with Muḥammad al-Bāqir, fifth *imām* of the Shīᶜites.

of sight. God said: *God causeth the revolution of the night and the day. Lo! herein is indeed a lesson to those possessed of sight,* [6] and: *So learn a lesson, O ye who have sight!* [7] Thus the people of sight learn a lesson by seeing in things the subtleties of God's works. They are the people of the hearts (*ahl al-qulūb*).

The people of vision (*ahl al-mushāhadah*) through the light of faith are in ranks. To one of them, for example, is granted release from occasions of heedlessness by means of true effort, and the vision of the next world through the two eyes of his heart as if he were actually looking at it.

Ḥārithah said [to the Apostle of God]: "I have become a true believer." [The Apostle of God] said: "Verily, to every truth (*ḥaqq*) there is a reality (*ḥaqīqah*), so what is the reality of your faith?" He answered: "I turned my self (*nafs*) away from this world and passed my night without sleep and my day without water, and it was as if I were gazing at the throne of my Lord appearing [before me], and as if I could see the people of heaven and how they visited each other and the people of hell and how they howled at one another."

Thus, because he had diverted his self from this world, God revealed to him the next world, so that he saw it / with the light of his heart. (65) He did not speak from the standpoint of the vision of God, or the vision of His attributes, graces, bounty or majesty, and such things, but he spoke only about his own endeavor, which gained for him the vision of the throne, the vision of heaven and its people and the vision of hell and its people. It is clear, then, that both the lights of vision and the power of vision from the standpoint of the servant increase through God.

Another difference between the heart and the breast is that the light of the breast is finite, whereas the light of the heart is infinite and limitless and does not perish even when the servant of God dies, for if he dies a believer, his light remains with him and does not forsake him either in the grave or on the day of resurrection, but remains with him always. God said: *God confirmeth those who believe by a firm saying in the life of the world and in the hereafter.* [8]

As for the precepts and laws of Islam and that which is founded upon obligation (*taklīf*), these come to an end with death. This is not only sufficient proof in support of him who holds that faith is a whole, and that it does not increase or decrease, but also a proof against him who believes in the increase and decrease of faith, who says that faith is similar to all other works and that all works are faith and that faith is [merely a declaration] with the tongue, or who holds that

---

[6] *Qurʾān*, XXIV, 44.
[7] *Qurʾān*, LIX, 2.
[8] *Qurʾān*, XIV, 27.

faith is really an act of the servant, or who distinguishes between the real meaning of faith and that of Islam.

According to us, it is wrong for one to do what he is not obligated (66)
(*mukallaf*) to do. Silence is good for the ignorant; speech for the learned is a bounty from God. Do you not see that the questioning of the servant in the grave is about principles only and not about derivatives? He is asked: Who is your Lord? What is your religion? and Who is your prophet? He is not asked: What were your works? or How did you pray? On the day of resurrection he is asked first about his faith and then about his works, one after the other. He is rewarded for his works according to the strength of the principles, that is, his intentions.

The heart is called *qalb* only because of the rapidity of its turning over (*taqallub*). The Apostle of God said: "The heart is like a feather in a waste area of the earth which has become stuck to the trunk of a tree and is being turned over by the wind." The Apostle of God thus revealed something of God's power and something of His kindness towards his weak servant in making his heart firm in the faith and in anchoring it in the truth by means of the rapidity of its turning over, so that through God's power and might it will not deviate from the straight way.

The intelligent man (*ʿāqil*) is one who does not attribute the action (67)
of the heart to his self (*nafs*) except / in that which has to do with [acts of] service, and who is silent about that which does not concern him. He is thus diverted from inquiring into what does not concern him. If the structure of one's unification of God (*tawḥīd*), as well as the foundation of one's faith (*īmān*), and the ground of one's gnosis (*maʿrifah*) collapses, who but he can rebuild them?

I have stated that Islam combines both knowledge and works. The proof of this is what the Apostle of God answered when Jibrīl asked him: "O, Muḥammad! What is faith?" He answered: "That you believe in God, His angels, His books, His apostles, in the meeting with Him, in heaven and hell, and in fate, both the good and evil and the sweet and bitter of it, as coming from God." He asked: "If I do that then I am a believer?" He said: "If you do that then you are a believer." Jibrīl said: "You have spoken the truth," and we were amazed at his words and his corroboration. Then he asked: "O Muḥammad! What is Islam?" He answered: "That you pray, give alms, make the pilgrimage, fast during Ramaḍān, and wash after impurity (*janābah*), and if you do these, then you are a Muslim." Jibrīl said: "You have spoken the truth," and we were amazed at his saying: You have spoken the truth. Then he said: "O Muḥammad! What is beneficence (*iḥsān*)?" He answered: "That you worship God as if you saw Him, for if you do not see Him, verily, He sees you." Jibrīl said: "And if I do that, then I am a benefactor (*muḥsin*)?" He replied: "Yes." He said: "You have spoken the truth," and we were

amazed at his saying: You have spoken the truth. Thus the two of them agreed that Islam is both knowledge and work.

In regard to faith they agreed that it is knowledge and that its resting place is in the heart. As for the elite (*khāṣṣah*) of the people of faith, they derive subtle benefits from the traditions of the the Apostle of God. The common people do not attain to these for they are veiled by their own selves from the subtleties of the truth because of their preoccupation with their own deeds. God commanded that people be addressed according to their intellects (*ʿuqūl*) and said: *Address them in plain terms about their selves.* [9]

His answer concerning beneficence has to do with the vision of (68) God only. Either the servant of God sees his Lord with his heart or else he sees with his heart that his Lord sees him. There are many benefits to be derived from this tradition (*khabar*) which the common people do not comprehend. However, this is not the place for their exposition.

The Apostle of God showed that the stations of the faithful are according to their ranks, since he tied beneficence to vision. The abode of vision is the inner heart (*fuʾād*). God said: *The inner heart lied not in what it saw.* [10] The word "*fuʾād*" is derived from "*fāʾidah*", benefit, because it sees the benefits of God's love. The inner heart (*fuʾād*) benefits from vision, whereas the heart (*qalb*) delights in knowledge. However, as long as the inner heart does not see, the heart cannot make use of its knowledge.

Do you not see that the knowledge of the blind man is useless in testimony, should that be required, because he is deprived of sight? Although his knowledge is real knowledge, its authority is nevertheless not established, for the judge must invalidate his testimony on account of his blindness, even though he be just. In this there is an allusion (*ishārah*) for him to whom God has given understanding in religion.

God said: *That ye may be witnesses against mankind.* [11] How can someone testify concerning something he knows but has not seen? God said in the story of Joseph and his brothers: *We testify only to that which we know; we are not guardians of the | unseen,* [12] for they (69) had not seen the drinking-cup in the saddle-bag of their brother, nor had they seen it placed there by the friend of Joseph at the latter's command that [they might know] it had not been stolen.

God has indeed favored us with the *Qurʾān* which is His great sea. He has filled it with gems of subtleties and made it one of the treasuries of grace. Blessed is he to whom God grants, both openly and in secret, some of the wisdom and explanation which is in it.

---

[9] *Qurʾān*, IV, 63.
[10] *Qurʾān*, LIII, 11.
[11] *Qurʾān*, XXII, 78.
[12] *Qurʾān*, XII, 81.

One of the gnostics (*ʿārifūn*) said: "The inner heart is called "*al-fuʾād*" only because there are a thousand valleys (*alfu wādin*) in it. The valleys of the inner heart of a gnostic flow with the lights of God's beneficence, grace, and bounty.

The word "inner heart" has a more precise meaning than the word "heart." However, their meanings are close, just as are the meanings of the words "merciful" (*raḥmān*) and "compassionate" (*raḥīm*). The guardian of the heart is the Merciful, for the heart is the abode of faith, and the believer puts his trust in the Merciful through the soundness of his faith. God said: *Say: He is the Merciful. In Him we believe and in Him we put our trust.* [13]

The guardian of the inner heart, on the other hand, is the Compassionate. God said: *My compassion embraceth all things, therefore I shall ordain it for those who are pious,* [14] and: *Thus that We may strengthen thy inner heart therewith.* [15]

God described His binding (*rabṭ*) of His servant's heart (*qalb*) in (70)
the story of the people of the cave when He said: *We bound their hearts when they stood forth,* [16] and in the story of the mother of Moses: *If we had not bound her heart.* [17]

Those versed in exegesis have said that the binding of the heart (*rabṭ al-qalb*) is by means of the light of unification (*nūr al-tawḥīd*). That is because the heart knows and as a knower requires the binding of support (*rabṭ al-taʾyīd*), so that it may find peace in the remembrance of God.

The inner heart (*fuʾād*), on the other hand, sees and therefore is subject to emptiness (*farāghah*). It has no need of binding but requires instead assistance through God's guidance. God said: *The inner heart of the mother of Moses became empty and she would have betrayed him.* [18] God thus ascribed emptiness to the inner heart and made it excel over the outer heart, since the latter requires binding. Moreover, the inner heart actually sees, whereas the outer heart merely knows, and as the Apostle of God said: "Knowing is not equivalent to seeing."

[Part Five: the Intellect]

The intellect (*lubb*) is the greatest mountain and the most secure station of the heart. It resembles an axis, which is permanent and does not move. The intellect is the support of religion, for all the lights are founded upon it and encompass it. These lights are not perfected nor is their power made effective save through the sound-

[13] *Qurʾān,* LXVIII, 29.
[14] *Qurʾān,* VII, 156.
[15] *Qurʾān,* XXV, 32.
[16] *Qurʾān,* XVIII, 14.
[17] *Qurʾān,* XXVIII, 10.
[18] *Qurʾān,* XXVIII, 10.

ness of the intellect and its subsistence, nor are they made firm except by its firmness, nor / do they exist except by its existence. The in- (71)
tellect is the source of the light of unification (*nūr al-tawḥīd*) and the light of the vision of the uniqueness of God (*nūr mushāhadat* al-tafrīd), for through the intellect the servant of God achieves true disengagement (*tajrīd*) [from this world], as well as the light (*ḍiyāᵓ*) of God's glorification.

([1] The intellect (*lubb*) is a coupled light (*nūr maqrūn*), a planted field (*zarᶜ maghrūs*), and a formed intellect (*ᶜaql maṭbūᶜ*).[1]) It is unlike the compounds in the inner self, for it is a simple light, like elemental things. This intellect (*lubb*), which is the same as the *ᶜaql*, is planted in the ground of unification (*tawḥīd*), and its soil is the light of uniqueness (*nūr al-tafrīd*). It was irrigated with the water of God's kindness from the sea of glorification until its roots became filled with the lights of certainty, for, by means of His power, God undertook its cultivation directly, without any intermediary. He grew it in the garden of contentment ([2] and then protected these seas with the wall of preservation[2]) and anchored it in His eternity and everlastingness, so that the animal that is the self with its passions and ignorance can hardly approach it, nor the wild beasts of the deserts of error, nor any of the animals which are characteristic of the self, such as its pride, foolishness, or faults. The Lord is the owner of this garden and He is its ruler. It is more embellished than all the heavens, for it is the garden of faith, and God has undertaken its planting and watering and its cultivation, so that with the help of the Merciful / (72)
and the subtleties of the fruits of beneficence its trees have brought forth the light of faith. God said: *But God hath endeared the faith to you and hath beautified it in your hearts.*[3]

This is the explanation of the word "*lubb*" (intellect): It is made up of the letters *lām* and *bāᵓ*. It begins with *lām*, like the *lām* in the word "*luṭf*" (kindness). The *bāᵓ* is doubled, for, although it is written as one, it is one of the doubled letters and is in reality two. These are the *bāᵓ* of *birr* (favor) in the beginning (*bidāyah*) and the *baᵓ* of *baqāᵓ* (remaining) with blessing (*barakah*) upon it. This light exists only by reason of the grace of the Opener of doors, for the root of all that God grants to His servant from among the principles of religion is His grace [which He gives] for no [special] purpose (*ᶜillah*). The derivatives of religion, however, He created for the purpose of worship.

The striving of the servant of God is accompanied by God's help and divine guidance, for such striving cannot succeed except through God's assistance at that time and [His] favorable regard beforehand

---

[1-1] I fail to understand the meaning of this sentence and suspect the original text has been corrupted by later copyists.

[2-2] The MS apparently omits several words of the original text.

[3] *Qurᵓān*, XLIX, 7.

through [His] benign arrangement and favorable determination. Thus the most important matter is His grace from eternity, in order that good works may become easy for God's servant.

Know that the intellect is possessed only by the people of faith, who are the chosen servants of the Merciful, and who have gladly accepted obedience to the Master and have turned from the self and the world. God has clothed them / in the dress of piety and has preserved them (73) from the varieties of affliction. He has named them the possessors of intellects (*ulū al-albāb*), and has chosen them for [His] address, having both reproved them in various ways and praised them in many parts of the Book. Thus He said: *So be mindful of your duty to God, O possessors of intellects*; [4] *Therefore keep your duty unto me, O possessors of intellects*; [5] *Those are they whom God guideth, so follow their guidance*; [6] *And he unto whom wisdom is given, he truly hath received abundant good. But none remember except the possessors of intellects*; [7] *And that they may know that He is only one God, and that the possessors of intellects may take heed*; [8] *And that they may ponder its revelations, and that the possessors of intellects may reflect.* [9] Thus God praised those possessing intellects and defined their ranks, their mystical relationships with their Lord, and the merits of their learning, understanding, and forbearance, thus rendering us incapable of comprehending their states, for He has distinguished them above all others with the light of the intellect.

Among people of letters generally and those who have some knowledge of the [Arabic] language, the intellect (*lubb*) is synonymous with reason (*ᶜaql*). There is, however, a difference between the two just as there is between the light of the sun and the light of a lamp / (74) although both of them are lights. This is quite apparent, since one rarely sees two rational beings the power and light of whose reasons are equal. On the contrary, one of the two will be superior to the other through a certain increment specially given to one and which is not apparent in the other. What do you think, then, of one to whom God has chosen to grant knowledge of Himself, of one whom He has favored with the niceties of His bounty and has flooded with the oceans of His goodness as He has done to no one else?

Reason is one in name and its power increases and decreases. It is obeyed (*matbūᶜ*) and [at the same time] dependent (*mutafarriᶜ*), since it becomes stronger as the power of its parts (*arkān*) is strengthened and increases with the increase of its authority. The first stage of reason is innate reason (*fiṭrah*). It is [the stage] attained by

---

[4] *Qurᵓān*, V, 100.
[5] *Qurᵓān*, II, 197.
[6] *Qurᵓān*, VI, 90 (91).
[7] *Qurᵓān*, II, 269.
[8] *Qurᵓān*, XIV, 52.
[9] *Qurᵓān*, XXXVIII, 29 (30).

a boy, or by a man recovering from insanity. Each of them can understand (*yaᶜqil*) what is said to him in the way of commands and prohibitions, and with his reason can distinguish good from evil as well as respect from contempt, profit from loss, strangers from relatives, and foreigners from neighbors.

The [second stage is the] reason of evidence (*ᶜaql al-ḥujjah*). It is [the stage] in which one becomes worthy of being addressed by God. When one reaches puberty, the light of reason (*nūr al-ᶜaql*), which has been described, becomes firm through the light of support (*nūr al-taʾyīd*), for this [latter light] supports the reason, thus enabling one to attain to God's address (*khiṭāb*).

The [third stage is the] reason of experience (*ᶜaql al-tajribah*). It is the most useful and the most excellent of the three, for by experience one becomes wise (*ḥakīm*) and arrives at the knowledge of what is not [known] by means of that which is [known]. The Apostle of God said: / "No one is a wise man unless he is experienced, and no (75) one is forbearant unless he has made mistakes."

[Another type is] inherited reason, which may be described in the following way. A rational (*ᶜāqil*), wise, learned, forbearant, and dignified old man is afflicted with a foolish boy or with a pupil who does not benefit from his company. This rational man dies, and God, because of the goodness of this man, bequeathes to the foolish boy his reason, his light and illumination, his beneficial qualities, his dignity, serenity, and character. The boy's condition changes immediately, and he becomes dignified and intelligent in the same way as his predecessor. One sees this only at the time of the death of the rational old man and the change in the condition of the foolish and ignorant boy. Only the reason of the old man is inherited, and this occurs because of his prayers and the light of his learning. God, in turn, deigns to complete this through His grace and bounty.

Benefits from each of these types [of reason] are derived accordingly. Also, it is by means of these types that one becomes fit [to live] in association with other people, and that they in turn benefit from one. It is possible, however, for all these types of reason to be found in people who do not believe in God or the day of judgement, such as the philosophers (*falāsifah*) and the wise men (*ḥukamāʾ*) of India and Greece and others, for these types of reason are only for assisting the self and for dealing with people in this world in a hypocritical way.

However, from among [all] these [types], that which is really beneficial is balanced reason (*al-ᶜaql al-mawzūn*), which is stamped with the light of God's guidance. / It is the same as the intellect (*lubb*), (76) which I have just described. It is also called reason (*ᶜaql*), and the word "reason" is used allegorically to mean knowledge. Thus those who possess intellects (*ulū al-albāb*) are knowers of God. However, not every rational man (*ᶜāqil*) is a knower of God, although every knower

of God is rational. God said: *But none will grasp their meaning save the knowers.* [10]

Reason has many other names. It is called *ḥilm, nuhā, ḥijr,* and *ḥijā.* God said: *Lo! herein verily are portents for men of reason* (*nuhā*), [11] and: *There surely is an oath for reasoning man* (*dhū ḥijr*). [12] The Apostle of God said: "Let those among you of reason (*ulū al-aḥlām, wa al-nuhā*) follow me and then those who follow them."

It has been said that reason (*ᶜaql*) binds (*yaᶜqil*) the self from following its passions, just as the halter (*ᶜiqāl*) keeps cattle from their pasturage. The word "reason" is interchangeable and general, and it is the only one of these words which can be used as a verb and conjugated. One says: I reason (*aᶜqilu*), he reasons (*yaᶜqilu*), a reasoning (*ᶜaqlan*), he is a rational being (*ᶜāqil*), and that is reasonable (*maᶜqūl*). | (77)

God said: *Lo! therein is indeed a portent for people who reason,* [13] meaning that one should reason concerning God's commands and prohibitions, His exhortations, and His promise and threat, and that one should understand His desire in all matters to the extent to which He helps one to do this and reveals to one the way to execute His commandments and to avoid His prohibitions. None of this can exist without God's grace and favorable regard towards one. Thus He causes one to excel over others through the intellect, which has been described, and [its] light. Such a one is learned (*faqīh*) both in the fundamentals of religion and in the derivatives. However, not everyone who is learned in the derivatives is learned in the fundamentals, for learning in the field of laws is common. Such a one is learned only through his having studied (*tafaqquh*) and is a mere bearer of learning and knowledge. Moreover, learning (*fiqh*) is another word for knowledge (*ᶜilm*) and can be used in its stead. One says that so and so learns [using either] *yataᶜallam* or *yatafaqqah.*

Real learning, however, is the learning of the heart (*fiqh al-qalb*). The Apostle of God said: "Many a bearer of learning possesses no learning and many a man bears learning to one who is more learned than he." The wise man (*al-ḥakīm*) [14] said: "He is not learned who does not consider affliction a blessing and contentment a calamity." Al-Ḥasan said: "The learned man is only he who is abstemious in this world and desirous of the next world, conscious of his sin and steadfast in obedience to his Lord."

I pointed out in the beginning of this book that the seat of learning (*fiqh*) of the educated man is in the interior of the breast and that its light increases with study and use. The lights of learning and under-

[10] *Qurᵓān,* XXIX, 43.
[11] *Qurᵓān,* XX, 54, 128.
[12] *Qurᵓān,* LXXXIX, 5.
[13] *Qurᵓān,* XVI, 67.
[14] Perhaps Luqmān al-Ḥakīm is meant.

standing (*fahm*) enlighten him / and he can thus deduce matters with (78)
the light of his learning and infer what he does not know from what is similar and analogous to it.

Comprehension in religion (*al-fiqh fī al-dīn*), on the other hand, is that light which God projects into the heart of His faithful servant. It is like a lamp, which enables one to see. This light is not possessed by the infidel or the hypocrite, for God said: *But the hypocrites comprehend not.* [15]

As for the learned man (*faqīh*) whose heart God has illuminated with the light of sight (*nūr al-baṣar*), he is the one indicated by the Apostle of God when he said: "If God wishes good for His servant, He gives him comprehension in religion and shows him the faults of his self and the sickness of this world and its remedy." He in whom God combines both of these types of knowledge [16] is known as the red sulphur (*al-kibrīt al-aḥmar*), [17] the greatest knower (*al-ᶜālim al-akbar*), and the most wise (*al-labīb al-awfā*).

The deduction of the learned man in laws is the deduction of matters in accordance with the *sunnah* and the practise of the *sharīᶜah*. The deduction of the man learned in interior knowledge (*al-faqīh fī bāṭin al-ᶜilm*), however, is of ideas in the heart (*khawāṭir*) in accordance with reality and the vision of lordship.

This is evident in the difference in merit between these two in the deducing of both the inner and the literal meaning of a [Qur'ānic] verse revealed by God, a verse whose literal meaning is to be taken as a law and whose inner meaning is to be taken as a symbolic allusion (*ishārah*) / and as knowledge. The learned man deduces that which is (79)
in accordance with the evidence of God (*ḥujjat Allāh*), whereas the wise man (*ḥakīm*) deduces that which is in accordance with the will of God and points to His way by means of subtle allusions (*laṭāᵓif al-ishārāt*). [Thus he deduces] what is in accord with [God's] unification and reveals an intention to which God agrees.

(*to be continued*)

Stanford University
Stanford, California

NICHOLAS HEER

---

[15] *Qurᵓān*, LXIII, 7.
[16] *i.e.* ordinary learning and comprehension in religion.
[17] *i.e.* gold or the philosopher's stone, a title commonly given to great saints.

PLACE OF THE RELIGIOUS COMMANDMENTS IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF AL-GHAZĀLI

It is well known that the homage accorded to Ghazāli by almost all sections of Islam was due largely to his success in showing the compatibility of mysticism with punctilious observance of the ritual laws. Not only was his own personality, with its rare combination of a dry legal scholar and a profoundly emotional mystic, a living demonstration of this truth, but he also devoted a considerable part of his writings, especially in his great work *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn,* to providing it with ample proof.

Therefore it would be a mistake to suppose that Ghazāli relegated the religious commandments of Islam to a position of minor significance in his philosophy. On the contrary, these commandments occupy the centre of his whole system of thought, so much so that he repeatedly returns to them in discussing the most various topics, and again and again, in all sorts of ways, emphasizes their importance and influence. Nor is this at all surprising. For just as Ghazāli aspired to give a deeper content to the religious life of those circles which, while keeping the commandments of Islam, did so mechanically and without any inner devotion, so he also wished to revive a punctilious and rigorous observance of those commandments in those of his contemporaries amongst whom there was widespread disregard of religious law and of the daily practices ordained by it (*ibāḥiyya*). He was particularly concerned, like al-Qushairi before him, to extirpate this attitude of indifference from amongst the Sufis, where it had taken a strong hold, and therefore he repeatedly stresses that it is wrong to seek "the way of the world to come" in the Sufi spirit, without sincere and heartfelt observance of the religious commandments.

In Ghazāli's opinion, the uniqueness of man and the divine element in him consist in his ability to know and understand the truth about objects, the world and God. Now, every creature has been created for the sake of its own particular unique attribute in the full development of which it finds its mission and perfection. Hence, man's perfection and everlasting joy in the presence of his God lies in his attainment of true, eternal knowledge. If man does not seek after the knowledge for which he was created, he degrades himself to the level of the beasts. But if he pursues it with all his might, he can exalt himself to the ranks of the angels. [1] This "knowledge" brings man to the true love of God, which is the source of the love of one's fellow-men and of all the other

---

[1] *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazāli, Cairo edition, A. H. 1356/7, III, 1, p. 1360. (Referred to below simply as *Iḥyāʾ*. The Roman numeral denotes the relevant section of the work and the Arabic numeral the particular book in that section).

human virtues, and thereby gives him a slight foretaste in this world of the joy everlasting in store for him in the next.[2]

However, man usually goes astray in his search for his perfection. For most human beings, the element of the divine which is implanted in them constitutes just as great a danger as do their bestial, licentious and diabolical impulses.[3] Thus, instead of seeking their perfection in true "knowledge," men try to find it in worldly power, wealth, scholarship and all the other primrose paths to the soul's destruction.[4] Ghazāli therefore sets for himself the difficult task of guiding man back on to the right way to true knowledge.

In this guidance, the proper understanding of the religious commandments and their function has an important part to play. This understanding is part of the "knowledge of action" (*ʿilm al-muʿāmala*) which, together with the "knowledge of revelation" (ʿIlm al-Mukāshafa) constitutes the "knowledge of the world to come" (*ʿilm al-ākhira*). The "knowledge of revelation" is concerned with the true knowledge of God, His attributes and works, and seeks to comprehend the structure of the universe, prophetic revelation, the nature of the angels and of the devil, and the true content of such religious conceptions as Paradise, Hell and the like. The object of the "knowledge of action," on the other hand, is the understanding of the "states of the heart" (*Aḥwāl al-Qalb*), both those which are laudable, such as long-suffering, gratitude, fear, hope and so on, and those which are to be condemned, such as malevolence, enmity, arrogance, anger and the rest. Proceeding by therapeutic methods, this science aims at eradicating from the heart all that is sinful and strengthening all that is virtuous, by teaching man to recognize the symptoms, causes and consequences of the attributes of the heart, good and bad alike. Such a study is a necessary first stage, undertaken by an act of will, in man's preparation for the "knowledge of revelation" which is subsequently granted by God's grace to all who are worthy of it.[5] Man can attain to the "knowledge of the world to come" both by revelation and by reasoning; nor is there essentially any great difference between these two methods of enlightenment. (The process whereby the heart perceives the true nature of objects as they are in the world of absolute reality is often compared to the way in which a mirror reflects the objects around it. There are many things that can obtrude themselves between

---

[2] *Iḥyāʾ*, IV, 6, p. 2654. *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn*, Egyptian edition, A. H. 1328, pp. 95-96. Cf., also F. Jabre: *La Notion de la Maʿrifa chez Ghazāli*, 1958. (In order not to deviate from the subject of this article I shall not try to discuss these ideas).

[3] On the various elements in man (after the manner of the Platonic or Aristotelian philosophies) see, *e.g.*, *al-Arbaʿīn*, pp. 218 ff.; *Iḥyāʿ* III, 8; *Bayān* 5, p. 1845.

[4] *Iḥyāʾ* III, 6, p. 1845.

[5] *Iḥyāʾ* I, 1, p. 34-37.

the "mirror" and its surroundings, or between the heart and the truth). The heart that obtains the "knowledge of the world to come" by revelation obtains it from the world of absolute reality but the heart that obtains it by reasoning obtains it only indirectly, through the somewhat distorting medium of the senses and organs that belong to the world of appearances.[6] Thus scholars, for example, who strive to attain this knowledge by their senses and minds, receive it through the entrance to their hearts which is open to the phenomenal world; whereas ascetics seek the divine truth by constantly rubbing and polishing the mirror of their heart (*taṣqīl al-mir'āt*), hoping to be granted an inner illumination through the opening leading to the ideal world. The difference between these two methods is like that described in the well-known story about the competition between the Byzantine and the Chinese painters (a story which later became particularly famous in the version of al-Niẓāmi, who made the competition take place before Alexander the Great). While the Byzantine painter busied himself with his designs and colours, his Chinese rival merely polished his surface. But when the painting finally appeared on the prepared surface of the Byzantine, it was reflected with far greater brilliance on that of the Chinese.[7]

Moreover, divinely vouchsafed revelation is not the prerogative of prophets alone. It was also granted to the *awliyā'*, the saints, God's chosen confidants, in their waking moments or in sleep, while they were still in this world. Hence, it may be granted to every man who struggles to master his impulses and schools his soul, cutting himself off from all that binds him to this world and preparing his heart for the grace which is ready for him by self-purification, by the strengthening of his desire for this grace and by sincere and persistent yearning and proper way of gaining true "knowledge".[9]

---

[6] See *Iḥyā'*, III, 1; *Bayān* 7, 8, 9.

[7] *Iḥyā'* III, 1, p. 1377, p. 1382.

[8] In the literature of medieval Christian mysticism we also find ideas closely akin to Ghazāli's. Thus, St. Bonaventura, like Ghazāli and like his famous predecessors amongst the Fathers of the Church, believes that the revelation of divine truth (Beschauung) is an experience that may be granted to any man who has disciplined his soul to it by asceticism and self-purification and who desires it with all his heart. According to Bonaventura, the most propitious time for this experience is during prayer, as is emphasized after him also by St. Bernard of Clairvaux and St. Theresa. In the same way, Ghazāli regards the moment of liturgical obeisance or the days towards the end of the month of fasting, as the most likely time for the true worshipper to be granted a glimpse of the world of divine reality.

[9] See, *e.g.*, *Iḥyā'* III, 1, p. 1389, 1.10 (and the whole page). Here Ghazāli's approach appears to differ from that expressed by him in *al-Munqidh*. There, in the chapter entitled "The Truth of Prophecy and Every Human Being's Need of It" (Damascus, 1956, pp. 105 ff.), he describes prophetic revelation as the highest stage in human development, and one that not everyone reaches. Nor does he mention that every man has it in his power to attain to this stage by moral and religious effort. W. M. Watt stressed the lifference between the *Iḥyā'* and the *Munqidh* on this point in a different way and made it one of the

In this struggle to overcome his baser impulses and in his efforts to purify his heart to do God's will, man finds help, guidance and support in the commandments of the faith. The main function of these commandments is to help him master his passions, "for God, in His supreme wisdom, has made the salvation of mortals dependent on their deeds as opposed to their natural impulses and has entrusted their control to religious law." [10] Hence submission to God's will takes the form of repressing the instincts, and sin simply means yielding to the wilful desires of the heart. [11] Every action that in any way contributes to the conquest of man's passions, and still more so of his mind, brings him closer to his true goal, the "cleansing of the soul" (*tazkiyat al-nafs*), without which a man can never draw near to his God and thus get to know Him and love Him. "Cleansing means purification. The Messenger of God, (may God's praise and blessing be with him), said: "Purity is half of faith." This teaches us that perfect faith is the cleansing of the heart of all that Almighty and Adored God does not desire, and adorning it with what God desires". [12] Accordingly, the function of the commandments is two-fold: to extirpate evil from the heart and to implant good in it. "Know that the purpose of the (ritual) commandments is to strengthen the feeling of joy in the recollection of Almighty and Adored God, that man may return to the world of eternity and that the heart (of man) may be indifferent to the world of temptation; but only he will have bliss in the next world who comes to his God (at his death) through love, and only he can love God who knows Him and frequently mentions His name, since knowledge and love can only be attained by constant meditation and recollection. Nor can the recollection of God be kept lastingly in the heart except by (deeds) that recall Him, and these are the commandments." [13]

We see, then, that even "adorning the heart with good," after "cleansing it of evil," is still not the final goal to be desired. Virtue and moral perfection are only the necessary conditions for that supreme degree of the knowledge and love of God in which lies man's true bliss. However, the function of the commandments is not merely one of moral preparation. They further bring man closer to this supreme knowledge by meditation and thought, which lead to knowledge and recognition of truth. [14]

---

criteria of the authenticity and chronology of Ghazāli's works. See his article in *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 24-45, and especially pp. 26-28 (on the "*dhawq*" period). Cf., also A. J. Arberry: *Revelation and Reason in Islam* (London, 1957), pp. 61-64, 108-111; D. Z. Baneth, "Rabbi Jehuda Hallevi and Alghazali," (Hebrew) in *Knessset*, VII, 1941/2, pp. 311-329. (This article appeared first for the general reader in German in *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins zur Gruendung u. Erhaltung einer Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Berlin, 1923/4, pp. 27-45.

[10] *Ihyā'* I, 7, p. 485. See also I, 7, p. 484.

[11] *Al-Munqidh*, p. 110.

[12] *Al-Arbaʿīn*, p. 112.

[13] *Al-Arbaʿīn*, p. 114.

[14] *Ihyā'* III, 3, p. 1499.

It is therefore impossible to overestimate the tremendous importance of the commandments, since, in the words of Judah Halevi, "man does not attain to *al-ʾAmr al-ʾIlāhī* except by divine command; that is, by deeds that God has commanded" (Cuzari i. 98; cf. ii. 46). The observance of the ritual commandments purifies man's polluted inner being ("man is verily a dung-heap" says Ghazāli in one of his homilies!), cleans the mirror of his heart of the "blotches of greed and lust," and polishes it with divinely ordained good deeds.[15] With the help of the commandments, man can attain to the "knowledge and love" in which lies his true happiness in this world and the next; and who would wish to make light of the "key to overlasting bliss"?

However, in Ghazālī's opinion the matter is not so simple as the above words may seem to suggest. The commandments do not automatically bring man closer to his goal, as if by some magical process. It is true that they lead a man to "knowledge." But he must also "know" certain things himself, before he sets out along this road, if he is to make proper progress. Thus, a man must be well acquainted with the "states of his heart," its good and evil attributes and the influence of his actions upon them, before he can carry out the commandments in the right way to bring him nearer to his goal. For how can man fight against the evil within him, without being able to recognize it and its fruits, together with its corrective opposite? How can he become pure, without knowing what the pollution in his heart is? Every man is therefore enjoined to obtain this knowledge[16] which comprises not only the "knowledge of action" mentioned above, but also the knowledge of the Qurʾān and the Sunna, and a detailed familiarity with religious law and cognizance of all its subsidiary sciences, in so far as they are required by the individual for the proper observance of the commandments, (for example, an understanding of the direction of Mecca or of the course of the sun across the heavens, and so forth).[17]

But still more is required of man. He must also know *how* to perform the commandments properly, if they are to have the desired effect on his heart. Every commandment must be carried out with single-minded devotion, purity of thought and absolute sincerity. Ghazāli discusses these conceptions at length in various parts of his writings, and even devotes to them the whole of the seventh book in the fourth section of the "*Iḥyāʾ*." Single-minded devotion is, as it were, the breath of life of the commandments, without which they become meaningless motions of the body instead of divinely ordained good deeds. Thus, for example, a man who absent-mindedly pats an orphan on the head,

---

[15] *Al-Arbaʿīn*, p. 122.

[16] *Iḥyāʾ* I, 1, p. 27; III, 2, p. 1432; IV, 7, p. 2706.

[17] See, *e.g.*, *Iḥyāʾ* I, 4, pp. 348, 360; *ibid.* II, 7, pp. 1116, 1118-1119 et al. This is why al-Ghazāli begins his book on the Commandments with detailed chapters on the ritual law.

or who does obeisance in prayer without any feeling of lowliness and spiritual humility, might just as well not have performed these acts at all; but when the same acts are performed with single-minded devotion and with full consciousness of what is being done, they greatly enhance the doer's feeling of compassion towards his fellow creatures and his self-abasement and spiritual humility before his God.[18] Besides the lowliness of spirit and concentration of thought incumbent upon a man when carrying out one of the commandments, he must also, after its performance, have mingled feelings of fear and hope — fear that his deed may have been rejected by God, and hope that, by the grace of heaven, it may have been found acceptable to God.[19] For man always requires divine grace for his deeds to be found acceptable, even if he has performed them with the utmost possible regard for the requirements of religious law. Man is like the farmer who prepares his soil and then sows it with seed. Essential as this preparatory work is for the success of the crop, only the rain can ensure a rich harvest, and the farmer can do nothing but hope and pray that God will send rain at the proper time. In the same way, the commandments prepare the soil of the heart for the seed of faith to grow therein, but only by God's abundant grace can the spiritual crop come to fruition.[20]

The divine injunction to obtain these categories of knowledge takes precedence over all the other commandments and is "the supreme form of the worship of God." Only the combination of "knowledge and action" (*ʿilm wa ʿamal*) can ensure the proper performance of any deed in the "way of the world to come."[21] By his well-known insistence on this combination Ghazāli, like other Muslim thinkers before and after him, rejects the assumption, which was popular particularly in philosophical circles, that intellectual cognition is in itself sufficient to ensure the perfection of the soul and its everlasting bliss.[22] His opinion can be expressed by the old Hebrew saying: "whenever a man's wisdom outstrips his deeds, his wisdom comes to naught." Nor, conversely, are deeds alone the main thing or an end in themselves. They

---

[18] *Iḥyāʾ* III, 2, pp. 1451-2. Note the emphasis on the supreme importance of habitual and constant repetition for the proper observance of all the Commandments.

[19] *Iḥyāʾ* I, 7, p. 488.

[20] *Iḥyāʾ* IV, 3.

[21] *Iḥyāʾ* I, 5, p. 398.

[22] For remarks on this subject in Jewish and Muslim medieval literature and for the meaning of the term *ʿIlm*, see, *e.g.*, I. Goldziher's introduction to *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Nafs*, pp. 54-60. However, it is not only as a preparation for "knowledge" that action is important to Ghazāli. If my assumption about the "endless chain of reciprocal influence" (see below) in Ghazāli's philosophy is correct, it follows that action is for him not only a means to the desired end but also a part of that end, since "knowledge" improves and perfects action too. Though Ghazāli ultimately aspires to absolute spirituality, he knows that it is unattainable in this world, and therefore he holds that, throughout man's sojour on earth, one of the purposes of his "knowledge" is to correct and improve his deeds.

are only indispensable means to the attainment of lasting knowledge, as has been described.

There is thus an endless chain of reciprocal influence here. Knowledge (*ʿilm*) leads to right action, which in its turn brings man closer to "knowledge" (*maʿrifa*) and love of God, which again improve his deeds. In a similar way, fulfilment of the commandments and virtuous deeds lead to proper meditation and right thoughts, and meditation, in its turn, renews the "states of the heart" conducive to right action, while love facilitates the performance of such action.[23] Nor is right action confined to the proper observance of the written commandments; it also embraces every "good deed," a term which includes man's obligations to his fellow-men no less than his obligations to God. However, amongst these various reciprocally interacting factors there is no doubt that knowledge takes pride of place. "When a man knows (his heart) he knows himself, and when he knows himself he knows his God." "Knowledge is the beginning and the end. The beginning is only 'the knowledge of action' the end of which is action, while the purpose of action is to purify and cleanse the heart that the truth may be revealed in it and that it may be beautified by the true knowledge which is 'the knowledge of revelation.' "[24]

This philosophy of Ghazāli incorporates ideas that were widely held in the intellectual circles of the Middle Ages. The conception of the knowledge of God as leading to the love of God was a commonplace of mystic doctrine and, to a lesser extent, also of other thinkers who inclined to neo-Platonism. Thus, for example, the "Ikhwān al-Ṣafā," by whom Ghazāli appears to have been greatly influenced, also extolled knowledge as bringing man nearer to the next world and regarded it as the purpose of man's life. Unlike Ghazāli, however, they sometimes looked upon the commandments as no more than an intermediate stage for those "who are not wise enough to understand" or who have not yet attained to true knowledge.[25]

In the Aristolelian philosophical circles of the Middle Ages, too, it was commonly held that the purpose of man's existence was his asquisition of knowledge, and that his perfection was to be found in the philosophical comprehension of the truth. To many Jewish, Christian and Muslim thinkers, moral perfection was merely a prerequisite and preparation for intellectual perfection, and the commandments a means to the attainment of this perfection in both character and mind. Maimonides, for example, regards knowledge as the end for which man was created and the commandments as the means of bringing him closer to it, by suppressing his bestial impulses and disciplining him in virtuous conduct, thereby implanting "the true knowledge" in his heart,

---

[23] *Iḥyāʾ* IV, i, p. 2808; IV, 6, p. 264.
[24] *Iḥyāʾ* III, 1, p. 1348; IV, 6, p. 2618.
[25] Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, *Risāla*, 7 et al.

(see Guide to the Perplexed, Part I, 54; III, 27, 28, 33, 54, et al. It would be interesting to examine the many points that Ghazāli has in common with Maimonides, in spite of the great difference in their methods). At the same time, although he regards the final perfection as "pure knowledge in which there are no deeds or attributes." Maimonides, like Ghazāli, has no intention of belittling good deeds and the fulfilment of the commandments in any circumstances (*Guide to the Perplexed* III, 54; *Mishne Torah,* Sefer Hamada^{c}, Hilkhot Teshuva 9, 1).

Thus we see that, in Ghazāli's view, the purpose for which the commandments were given is to enable man to master his baser impulses, to purge his heart of its vices and to fortify it with virtues, and to bring him near in thought to eternal "knowledge." It is true that Ghazāli occasionally gives other reasons for the commandments; but, on closer examination, it transpires that all these reasons are merely different aspects of this primary purpose. Sometimes this is self-evident, as when Ghazāli describes the commandments, in their repressive influence on the impulses, as medicines for the diseases of a man's heart, those diseases being all those qualities that lead to a man's damnation (*muhlikāt*).[26] But even when the connection is not so immediately obvious, as when the fulfilment of the commandments is represented as man's expression of gratitude for the delights of the body and the joys of personal property granted to him by God, or as a test of man's love for his God, even here, it seems, there is no more than an emphasis of one particular aspect of the central purpose. Gratitude, especially gratitude to the Almightly for His gracious mercies, and the determined rejection of the temptations of this world out of desire for the true joys of the next, are also virtues needed by man in his quest after truth. Similarly, whenever Ghazāli invests the commandments with a symbolical meaning, it is only for the purpose of strengthening their influence over man's soul.

It should not, therefore, occasion any suprise that there is a certain monotonous similarity about all the reasons given by Ghazāli for the

---

[26] Almsgiving, for example, is a corrective for the miserliness in every human heart. Hence a man should be grateful to the poor who come to beg alms from him. For the spendthrift, on the other hand, the commandment of charity is not so important. Moreover, with regard to all commandments man must beware of performing them ostentatiously to make an impression on others (*riyā*$^{\flat}$), and he must endeavour to carry them out in private, or even to refrain altogether from performing them at certain times. Otherwise they may infect his heart with the additional disease of ostentation instead of curing it of the defects from which it is already suffering. In expressing such views, Ghazāli is obviously taking a very different stand from the orthodox Muslim legalists, the *fuqahā*$^{\flat}$, whom he vehemently attacks, even while insisting, like them, on the punctilious observance of every jot and tittle of the ritual laws. The great difference between him and them is that he does not regard this observance as the be-all and end-all of a life lived in accordance with the religious commandments, or even as the most important factor in it.

commandments. In his section "*ʿibādāt*" of the "*Iḥyā ʿUlūm al-Dīn*" he does not so much as mention any cosmic or astrological motivation for them; and he finds in them very little of social value, and still less historical or philosophical significance. Ghazāli's sole aim, the task for which he considers himself to have been chosen as "the reviver of religious knowledge," is to stress the importance of the commandments for the individual and the part played by them in helping him to master his passions, in schooling him to virtue, and in enriching his personal religious experience.

Ghazāli's conception of the commandments is one of the reasons, it seems to this writer, for his special attitude toward this world. He is far from preaching an extreme asceticism like that practised by many Sufis, since he regards such an attempt to escape from the world as no less of an enslavement to it than the eager pursuit of its vanities. For him, the world and its wealth are not in themselves the source of evil, nor is the body necessarily the accused flesh of Christian belief. It is man's attitude to all these that decides whether they are to be good or bad, and that makes them either a source of eternal bliss or a cause of everlasting ignominy.

Of course, this does not mean that, for Ghazāli, this world is any more than the antechamber to the great hall of the world to come; every true Muslim must believe in the Resurrection of the Dead and the Day of Judgment, when his deeds will be weighed in the scales of justice and he will be called to account for them. But the wise man will understand that the essential thing for him is not merely to be saved from hell and found worthy of entering Paradise, but to achieve the perfection of bliss which is the quintessence of all imaginable joys. Human beings are like the inhabitants of a town which has been captured by the Sultan. Some of them, though fortunate enough not to have been killed or even punished, are nevertheless banished from the city; others are permitted to remain living in the city with their kindred; but only he is truly happy who has not only escaped death and been allowed to remain in the city, but has also been specially favoured by the Sultan, presented with lavish gifts and given a share in his rule.[27] He who desires everlasting happiness, and is not so foolish as to sell an eternity of bliss for an ephemeral joy, will always be mindful that this world has no solid foundations, that everything here is transient, and that death puts an end to worldly pleasures. Hence only a thoughtless fool will devote the best of his powers to it and make himself the thrall of its vanities.[28]

But, at the same time, it is only in this world that man can prepare himself for the world to come, as a guest grooms himself in the antechamber for his entry into the great hall. The more a man devotes

---

[27] *Al-Arbaʿīn*, p. 26.
[28] *Al-Munqidh*, p. 112; *Ihyā* III, 2, p. 1477.

himself in this world to polishing the mirror of his heart, the greater will be his reward of "knowledge" and bliss in the next. The better he prepares himself here, the greater will be his joys there. "This world is the sown field (whose harvest) is the world to come," [29] reiterates Ghazāli, with even greater emphasis than his predecessors, thereby allowing ample scope for human free-will side by side with the absolute determinism which he generally feels obliged to accept. It is by his actions in this world that man "gains" his reward in the world to come; he reaps there what he has sown here, and it depends very much on him whether the harvest brings him everlasting bliss or eternal damnation. At the same time, it is incumbent upon man to realize that God has dealt most graciously with him in letting him sojourn for a time in this world and in giving him his body and organs with which to prepare himself for the world to come. For, without this stopping-place on his journey at which he can fulfil the divine commandments and improve his heart by his physical deeds, he could never enter the next world. Without proper preparation here, he could have no hope of coming safely through his ordeal there.

Hence the apparent paradox that the man who wishes to prepare himself in the antechamber of this world for his meeting with his Maker in the world to come will, like the most worldly creature, also seek to postpone his death, the day when his harvest is "reaped." In his case, however, the reason is not any deluded and soul-sickly clinging to the vanities of this world, but a sincere desire to make the fullest possible use of the period of spiritual preparation graciously granted to him by God. Such a man knows that death will end the connection between his immortal soul and his mortal body and thereby deprive him of any further chance of improving his soul and polishing its mirror. [30] From this point of view, and from this alone, death is a tragedy for every true believer, even though it frees him from the fetters of the body which come between him and the true, eternally perfect "knowledge."

God has given man this world for the satisfaction of his religious needs, and He maintains it in being, so that man may make use of it for this purpose. And since this world cannot continue to exist when it is "entirely good," God has also given evil, indifference and sin a place in it. But His only purpose in so doing is to preserve the world for the sake of the good, that man may prepare himself to meet his Maker. [31] However, Ghazāli goes still further than this. If man's purpose in this world is to prepare himself for his life in the world to come, by fulfilling the commandments and by other good deeds which bring him nearer to "true knowledge" and love and give him a slight

---

[29] *Iḥyāʾ* III, 1, p. 1353; *al-Arbaʿīn*, p. 40; *Streitschrift des Ġazāli gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte* I. Goldziher, p. 79 (based on the Ḥadīth).
[30] *Al-Arbaʿīn*, pp. 104, 323. *Iḥyāʾ* IV, 7, p. 2615 *et al.*
[31] *Iḥyāʾ* IV, 6, p. 2652.

foretaste of them, then a far-reaching conclusion may be drawn: "Whoever does not know God in this world will not behold Him in the next, and whoever does not find delight in "true knowledge" in this world, will not enjoy the sight of God in the next; for in the next world man will not be granted any new thing that he has not already attained in this world, and he will reap only what he has sown; he shall rise (at the resurrection of the dead) exactly as he died, and he shall die exactly as he lived." [32]

What is true of the world is true also of man's body, and his wealth, Man needs his body and its organs to achieve the true purpose of his life. His organs are, as it were, the vehicle of his heart, his knowledge is the provision he carries with him on his journey to meet his God, while his good deeds are the channel by which he is enabled to "taste" and store up as much as he needs of this provision. Hence it is man's duty to take good care of his body, and to this end God has provided him with hosts of minions — the appetites, senses and organs — whose task it is to obey the instructions of his heart for the proper maintenance of his body and soul. [33] In the same way, even money, which supplies man's body — the "vehicle" that bears him into the next world — with food, clothing and the like, is not evil in itself. If a man takes only what he requires of it, it will make him blessed. [34] For with money he will be able to fulfil such commandments as giving charity, performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, and aiding in a Holy War; he will be able to build mosques, guard-posts, hospitals, bridges, etc. With money a man can support his family and pay for servants who will do his daily chores for him(!), thus releasing his heart from the vanities of this world and leaving it free to devote itself entirely to the affairs of the world to come. [35] In this way money, the source of all evil (especially according to Sufi doctrine), can actually be of benefit to man's religious practice and feeling, and thus become a further means of bringing him nearer to the next world.

But in all this there lurks a danger for man. The world, wealth and his body are like the deadly poison of a snake which may also be a healing antidote. A man must be abstemious in his enjoyment of these blessings and not rush headlong after his appetites, knowing the harm they can do him as well as the benefit they can bring him; he must choose only what will stand him in good stead on his way to the next world. Above all, he must beware of having his attention deflected from his main purpose by undue occupation with these accessories which, for all their subsidiary importance, are of no real value in themselves. If they succeed in diverting him from his real aim, they will become

---

[32] *Iḥyāʾ* IV, 6, pp. 2613, 2612 (based on the Ḥadīth).
[33] *Iḥyāʾ* III, 1, p. 1353 ff.
[34] *Al-Arbaʿīn*, p. 147.
[35] *Iḥyāʾ* III, 7, p. 1768.

an obstacle and stumbling block on his path and, instead of bringing him nearer to his goal, will drive him far away from it to his perdition. [36]

Here we meet that subjectivity and relativity on which J. Obermann [37] has remarked as the key-note of Ghazāli's philosophy and which appear also in Ghazāli's evaluation of every single commandment. The world, wealth, the human body are not good or bad in themselves, but become so according to the part played by them in a man's life. They should neither be eagerly sought after, nor deliberately eschewed. Moreover, a man may abandon himself to them by the very act of all the time running away from them; hence Ghazāli regards uncompromising self-subjection to the ideals of poverty, monasticism and the like as leading away from God. The extreme ascetic is little better than the hedonist. Therefore, the third and highest degree of self-denial is attained when "(a man's) soul neither inclines to this world nor withdraws from it in disgust, but regards its presence or absence with equanimity. To such a man money is like water, and the treasures of exalted God like a sea which his heart does not seek after nor yet does it flee from it. Such a one is the perfect man, for he who hates something is no less occupied with it than he who loves it." This is the "freedom from all the bonds of this world" in which lies man's true and everlasting perfection. [38]

In the foregoing pages, I have tried to give a general survey of the place occupied by the religious commandments of Islam in Al-Ghazāli's philosophy, in so far as any single philosophy can be attributed to him. However, a fuller and more accurate picture of his views can be obtained only by a detailed examination of his statements on the nature of each individual commandment and the proper way of performing it. The rich pattern of symbolism and psychological explanation revealed by such an examination would be found to support a central doctrine of great interest concerning the influence of man's body on his soul. This doctrine, which underlies Ghazāli's whole philosophy, calls for a special study of its own.

Hebrew University
Jerusalem

HAVA LAZARUS-YAFEH

---

[36] *Iḥyāʾ* III, 7, p. 1768.

[37] See the excellent appraisal in J. Obermann: *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazālīs* (Braumüller, Wien 1921). See also A. J. Wensinck: *La Pensée de Ghazālī* (Paris 1940) especially p. 131 ff., who gives a somewhat different explanation of Ghazāli's attitude towards the world, wealth, etc.

[38] *Al-Arbaʿīn*, pp. 240, 160.

MOSQUE AND SCHOOL IN TURKEY

PART II

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION

Other than gross totals, there have been remarkably few educational statistics published in Turkey since 1955, which fact alone draws attention. In the 1958-1959 school year, something like 2.4 million students were reported attending 21,464 primary schools (grades 1-5), of which 19,379 were located in villages.[1] Of the total enrollment in the urban schools, 42 % were girls, and in the rural schools, 35 %.[2] Over the 1933-1949 period the number of children of primary school age reported to be in school increased gradually from 30.9 % to 58.3 %, although the growth during the last five years of this period (1945-49) remained more or less static.[3] In 1955 a comparable figure was possibly 72 %. But curiously, in June 1958, only 140,318 students graduated from grade 5, or not more than 35 to 40 % of the children of appropriate age.[4] Undoubtedly the percentage in the village schools was substantially lower. The rate of attrition was obviously high in the first five grades. At the same time some 262,297 students were in the secondary schools (grades 6-11), which meant that for every eight primary students perhaps only one entered secondary education, which was probably about the ratio that had obtained in 1949.[5] Clearly the big hurdle in the Turkish educational system lies between the primary and secondary schools. If a student reaches grade 6, there is an excellent chance that he will continue into a *lise* (lycée) (grades 9-11); perhaps as many as one out of three do so. But once in a *lise*, there is a four-out-of-five chance that he will go on into higher eduction of some sort.

The relative number of girls and boys in the primary schools is revealing as a measure of what is happening to woman's status in Turkish society.

Clearly the percentage of girls in village schools has not been increasing, which fact confirms personal observation in Anatolian villages since 1950.

---

[1] Hekingil, E., *Education in Turkey* (22nd International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, 1959), p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Robinson, R. D., "An Analysis of Turkish Education" (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, a working paper for the 1950 Economic Survey Mission to Turkey, Ankara, 1950, typewritten).

[4] Robinson, R. D., *Developments Respecting Turkey,* Vol. IV (American Universities Field Staff, New York, 1956), p. 278; *Aylik Istatistik Bulten* (Istatistik Umum Mudurlugu, Ankara, November, 1956, No. 33), p. 122; and Hekimgil, *op. cit.*

[5] Robinson, R. D., "An Analysis of Turkish Education," *op. cit.*, p. 21.

Table One

Student Registration in Turkey's Primary Schools

	1936/37		1945/50		1958/59	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Village primary	69 %	31 %	65 %	35 %	65 %	35 %
Urban primary	66 %	34 %	59 %	41 %	58 %	42 %
Total primary	67 %	33 %	63 %	37 %	62 %	38 %

Source: *Istatistik Yilligi, 1952* (Istatistik Umum Mudurlugu, Ankara, 1953), p. 159, and Hekimgil, *op. cit.*

These statistics point up some rather serious problems. First, with the politically-motivated release since 1950 of police pressure in enforcing the compulsory school law, the proportion of village girls in schools has failed to increase, and the rate of drop-out for all students continues to be very large. It is revealing that in her 1952 study, Miss Wofford found indications that in perhaps half of the villages studied the villagers seemed either to stand in opposition to the village school or were indifferent to it.[6] Although the degree of support for secular education has surely grown somewhat on the village level since then, recent personal impressions nonetheless lead one to believe that there is still much popular resistance. Across the country, village school teachers still complain of official indifference to truancy and an inadequacy of funds with which to equip, staff and maintain existing schools properly. The morale of village teachers is undoubtedly lower than in 1950, and the problem of keeping teachers in the villages remains an awkward one. A certain element of dedication and idealism is a prerequisite for a successful village teacher; he faces a difficult job at best. But if he feels that he is unsupported and unappreciated by his nation's leaders, as now seems increasingly the case, there is an inclination for his dedication and idealism to deteriorate into cynicism and self-seeking—and ultimately, to resignation from the profession. The result is that not a few village schools stand empty.

A specially appointed National Education Commission, on which a number of outstanding Turkish educators sat, submitted its report to the Ministry of Education early in 1959. Although still classified secret by the Turkish Government, it is known that the Commission made several of these same points. It also cast doubt on the social and economic value of five years of primary education which has no follow-up. As already noted, very few village children find their way into a secondary school. Virtually all of these schools are located in the towns, and relatively few village parents apparently see the value of secondary education, particularly for girls, nor can they spare their children's labor at the times of peak load (harvest, seeding, cultiva-

[6] Wofford, K. V., "Report on Rural and Primary Education and Related Teacher Training in Turkey" (Ministry of Education, Ankara, 1952, mimeographed).

tion). Many parents feel that they do not have the cash to provide board and room while their children attend a town school. Only a fortunate few have town-dwelling relatives willing to assume responsibility. In the usual village there is virtually no juvenile literature which would encourage children to continue reading after graduation from fifth grade. Under these conditions, it is suspected that effective literacy is lost by most children within three to five years after primary school graduation.

In the long run the Army may lend its enormous prestige to basic education, thereby increasing popular acceptance of, if not demand for, education. The Army is now setting up sixteen basic education centers at which all illiterate draftees, an estimated 50 %, will be required to attend an eight-week course. It is expected that something like 100,000 men will move through these courses each year. Their study will focus on acquiring literacy, basic arithmetic skills, and the concept of measuring. For illiterates, the normal two year period of compulsory military service has been lengthened by two months to accommodate this new training. Special books, deemed to be of interest to soldiers, are being printed for free distribution, the purpose of which is to stimulate the habit of reading and to develop reading skills. But this program does not touch the female population, and the problem of the secondary school remains.

The National Education Commission apparently recommended a delay in the construction of new village primary schools (about half of the villages now have one) and more emphasis on secondary schools to service rural areas. One problem is that the village communities are too small to justify separate secondary schools, and the cost and the difficulty of transport render regional schools unrealistic in most areas. It seems that the Commission also urged that differences between rural and city schools be narrowed so as not to create two distinct educational systems within the country. Under the Village Institute system, which was modified substantially subsequent to the 1950 change of regime, the type of education offered in the villages was quite different from that given in the towns, which fact made it even more difficult for the village children to move on into the secondary school system. As other forms of practical education are extended into the village via the agricultural extension service, travelling-courses teaching practical skills, the farm machinery schools, and military technical training, perhaps the type of practical training formerly stimulated by the Village Institute system is no longer as necessary. There is now more emphasis on turning out village teachers better equipped to teach basic cultural subjects. For several years the village institutes have been called simply "primary teachers training schools" (*ilk ogretmen okulu*), and there is an attempt to enroll in them at least a minimum of teacher trainees of city or town origin. The authorities feel that by mixing village and town youth in this

fashion the enormous difference between country and city mentality may be narrowed. But in practice it has proven virtually impossible to attract any significant number of town and city youth into the village teaching program.

Because the desire for education is one force pulling the more enlightened and progressive villagers into urban centers, the problem of providing better and higher level *rural* education has become compelling, for the cost of settling new urban settlers is great. Furthermore, the leadership wishes to reverse the present tendency for most of the dynamic elements in the population to gravitate from village to town; from town to provincial seat; and from provincial seat to Ankara, Izmir or Istanbul.

One of the most disturbing aspects of contemporary Turkey is the apparently weakening support for education. It is quite apparent that, relatively speaking, a somewhat smaller share of Turkey's available resources has been invested in education of recent years, a tendency which became apparent even in the 1948-1950 period.[7] Investment in education has, of course, much to do with a people's ability to use, productively, investment in material forms of wealth, the so-called "absorptive capacity." In a rapidly developing country such as Turkey this concept is a very slippery one indeed, for the level of absorptive capacity is always changing. In reality, the term "investment" should be used to include investment in people as well as in things. The problem lies in striking an appropriate balance between these two forms of investment, not in determining a nation's absorptive capacity. Economist Theodore S. Schultz has written:

> People are, also, an important part of the wealth of nations. Moreover, as people invest in themselves they can augment the amount of human wealth: in many countries this form of wealth, measured by what it renders to production, is now vastly larger than all other forms taken together . . .
>
> Nevertheless, the main stream of modern economics has bypassed undertaking any systematic analysis of human wealth . . . Economists have found it all too convenient to think of labor as a homogeneous input free of any capital components.[8]

One suspects that the return on investment in education in Turkey is very much higher than that on investment in many projects currently under way. But our theoretical tools are as yet inadequate to give us precise measures.

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

RICHARD D. ROBINSON

---

[7] Robinson, R. D., "Education in Turkey," *op. cit.*

[8] See Schultz, T. W., "Investment in Man: An Economists View" (*The Social Service Review*, Vol. XXXII, No. 12, June 1959), p. 109; and his "Human Wealth and Economic Growth" (*The Humanist*, 1959, No. 2), p. 71.

SOME EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE ORIGINS OF THE "MECELLE" (MEDJELLE)

The nineteenth-century Ottoman code of laws known as the *Mecelle* is often stated to be the product of the judicial evolution of the Ottoman Empire in that century. What, precisely, this intellectually respectable-looking explanation refers to is difficult to determine. It seems to consist of the plausible, but in fact over-simplified and rationalistic, view that the code was drafted to meet the need for a new systematization of laws, and that this need, in turn, arose as new, lay Turkish tribunals were gradually established during the *Tanzimat* era (1839-1878).

Such an approach, logical as it may seem, and valuable as it is in simplifying the maze of Ottoman judicial evolution, obscures the important fact that Ottoman judicial development during the *Tanzimat* owed its dynamic to three distinct constitutive elements and that the latter have to be disentangled from one another before the *Mecelle* can be placed in perspective.

These three major components of Turkish judicial modernization were 1) the set of influences which gave rise to the Ottoman commercial courts, 2) the somewhat different impetus which found its culmination in the shaping of a new system of criminal law, and 3) the stream which resulted in the codification of the *Mecelle* proper.

The commercial courts of the Ottoman Empire, of which the "mixed" courts were the forerunners, were created partly as a result of the pressures exerted on Ottoman society by a changing commercial world and partly by those generated in the foreign diplomatic missions of the Capital; the criminal code of the Empire was much more indirectly the outcome of foreign pressures and was the end result of a series of domestic reforms, while the codification of the *Mecelle* was the product of a conflict between the contending forces of foreign intervention, native reformist tendencies and Ottoman conservative-reactionary forces. It was also the expression of a compromise between these forces.

Although these three trends were intertwined to a degree, it is only by remembering that they represented separate strands that most can be made from the study of Ottoman legal and judicial reform in general, and the *Mecelle* in particular.

The full significance of the evolution of a new judiciary in the Ottoman Empire and the real meaning of the adoption of new codes can therefore be grasped only by examining under a separate heading each one of the strands described above.

I — THE COMMERCIAL COURTS

Long before the inauguration in 1839 of the era of Turkish reforms known as the *Tanzimat,* there were signs that the *Şeriat* (Sharīʿa in

Arabic) was not meeting all the contingencies of life even in Islamic societies. This was evident, in these societies, in the extensive overlapping of the jurisdiction of the "executive" over that of the "judiciary"; it was also apparent in the most inelegant fuzziness that characterized the jurisdictional border lines of the heterogeneous constellation of courts which existed wherever the *Şeriat* was in force. In the Ottoman Empire the situation had been aggravated, in the eighteenth century, by the decadence of the *Ulema,* the guardians of the rule of the *Şer'*. In the nineteenth century, however, the first of the many pressures which in time were to crack the shell of the *Şeriat* were set into motion by the slow but steady transformation of the *economy* of the Empire, in particular by the changing nature of the Ottoman Empire's commercial relations. As Turkey's commerce with Europe increased, extra-*Şer'i* methods of settling commercial disputes emerged.

Trade with Europe had been from the earliest times an activity restricted to the holders of special licenses. At first such licenses were granted only to Europeans. These traders were known as *Avrupa Tüccarı* (European traders). Later, the privilege was extended to non-Muslim Ottomans and eventually (in 1810-1225 A.H.) to Muslim Ottomans. [1]

On this occasion a new name was invented and the Muslim traders became known as *Hayriye Tüccarı.* All three categories were known as *Berath* or holders of letters patent. All were exempt, in commercial cases, from the jurisdiction of the *Şer'i* courts. [2]

---

[1] Osman Nuri (Ergin), *Mecelle-i Umûr-u Belediye,* (İstanbul, Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1338: 1922 A. D.), p. 680.

The modern latinized Turkish script has been used throughout this paper to transcribe Turkish words. An attempt was made, however, to keep close to the original spelling (in those words that were transcribed from Ottoman) by using consonants that approximate the original consonants in Arabic script. Thus I have used *Cemaleddin* rather than the correct modern Turkish spelling *Cemalettin.* Some words which Orientalists are accustomed to see transcribed according to the rules of transcription of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* are also transcribed with this system and follow immediately upon the first mention and transcription in modern Turkish of such words; *i.e., Şeriat* (*Sharī'a*). The use of apostrophe for certain words spelled in accordance with modern Turkish spelling does not constitute an admixture of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* system but is simply correct Turkish spelling. Entire phrases in Arabic such as occur in titles of books have been transcribed according to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* system.

The following are the phonetic equivalents of the letters that are the most confusing, in terms of pronunciation, to readers unfamiliar with Turkish:*

c same as *g* in "George"
ç same as *ch* in "Children"
ş same as *sh* in "Shore"
ı similar to the "u" in "Radium"

* I am indebted to Professor G. Lewis's *Teach Yourself Turkish* (London, 1953), for this most acute rendering of the Turkish undotted "ı".

[2] The jurisdiction of the *Şer'i* courts with regard to criminal cases arising

In one letter patent, for example, it was specified that the traders could be summoned to the Porte, or to the commercial courts which settled the conflicts to which they were a party, only by an employee of the Ottoman Ministry of Commerce, that in case "their imprisonment became necessary" this should also be "effectuated by the instrumentality of the said ministry," and that commercial conflicts involving them with any other party were to be settled in a court the members of which would be selected by the Minister of Commerce, the Commercial Counselor of the City (*Şehbender*), his assistants and the parties to the dispute. It was also stated in the letter that the law to be used in these special courts was "trader's law" (*Kaide-i Tüccar*). Whenever "the necessity arose" (when the parties requested it?) the dispute could be brought to the *Müftü* (*Muftī*) of Public Utility (*Umûr-u Nafia Müftüsü*) who was stated to hold court in the Ministry of Commerce. An appeal could be lodged with the *Şeyhülislâm*.[3]

Such arbitral procedure was not *per se* proscribed by the *Şeriat* although the customary and statute law used in these tribunals had no validity under the *Şeriat* and was at variance with it on many points.

A word of explanation is in order here with regard to the commercial jurisdiction which, as appears in the letter patent described above, was vested in the Ministry of Commerce. The general intensifying of reformist drives in the late 1830's had led in 1838 to the establishment of an Ottoman Committee of Agriculture and Commerce (*Meclis-i Ziraat ve Ticaret*). After some time the name of the Committee was changed to *Umûr-u Nafia Meclisi* (Council on Public Utility). In the spring of 1839 the body was reorganized as a Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture[4] but apparently the Council on Public Utility was kept as a special bureau of the ministry. In 1840 a Commercial Council was set up at the Porte as an adjunct of the Ministry of Commerce and

---

between two foreigners of the same nationality or of separate nationalities or between an Ottoman and a foreigner were determined in the provisions of capitulatory treaties entered into between the Ottoman Empire and foreign powers. For a detailed treatment see: Halil Cemaleddin, *Ecanibin Memalik-i Osmaniyede Haiz Oldukları İmtiyazat-ı Adliye,* (İstanbul, Hukuk Matbaası, 1330-1332 (1911-1912; 1912-1914), pp. 348 ff., 395 ff., 430 ff.

[3] Ergin, *Mecelle...*, p. 683. This was the practice followed after the establishment of the Ministry of Commerce in 1839. According to one authority, however, the practice of settling commercial disputes by boards of a mixed nature, *i.e.,* including Ottoman, Muslim and Christian) and foreign nationals, had existed ever since 1800-1801 (1215 A.H.), but in those times were used only in "exceptional circumstances." These informal "committees" (*komisyon*-commission) met under the Chairmanship of the Director of Customs (*Gümrük Emini*). One author states explicitly that the law used was European commercial law. See Cemaleddin, *Ecanibin...*, p. 75. For the name of *Beratlı Kançelaryası* used for such courts as well as their composition (one Muslim chairman, two non-Muslim assessors), see A. Heidborn, *Manuel de Droit Public et Administratif de l'Empire Ottoman,* (Leipzig, Stern, 1908), v. I, pp. 217-218. For the meaning of "*Şehbender*", Ergin, *Mecelle,* p. 682.

[4] Lütfi, *Tarih,* V, p. 128; VI, p. 28.

patent holding traders as well as money-lenders [5] were placed under the jurisdiction of this council. [6]

An already established practice was thus given the stamp of official approval. The earliest document recognizing the existence of such a system is a circular note of the Porte to the Foreign Representatives in the Ottoman capital dated 13 Muharrem 1256 (17 March 1840). [7]

When the Ministry of Commerce was merged with the Imperial Customs in 1841, this commercial council (*Ticaret Meclisi*) began to meet in the office of the Director of Customs. Disputes arising among and between Muslim Ottoman merchants licensed to trade with Europe and non-Muslim Ottoman traders and purchasers and sellers of commercial notes, and foreign merchants were settled in this court. [8]

The arbitrators sitting on the panel were Ottomans (Muslim and Christian) as well as foreign merchants. This group met in the presence of the Under-Secretary of State for Commerce and under the chairmanship of the Commercial Counselor (*Şehbender*) of the capital. In the more important cases members of the Council on Public Improvement (which as a bureau of the Ministry had retained its advisory functions) were present on the boards of arbitrators. Whenever recourse to the *Şeriat* was demanded by the parties the case would be referred to the *Müftü* of the Council on Public Utility. [9]

The same year the promulgation of a commercial code was discussed. The draft code prepared by the reformist Grand Vizier Reşid Paşa was rejected, however, because of the bitter protests of the *Ulema* who objected to its secular nature. [10]

In the 1840's and 50's two new developments took place: first, the

[5] The latter had availed themselves of the opportunity to have their cases tried in non-*Şer'i* courts as the practice of establishing commercial arbitral boards had gained increasing currency. They had obtained that disputes having regard to their profession be heard at the *Darbhane* (Mint). In September of 1840 (Receb 1256) these arbitral boards at the Mint were transferred to the Court of Accounts (*Meclis-i Muhasebe*) located in the Ministry of Finances. It probably operated for only a short while under these auspices before being transferred to the Commercial Council. See: Cemaleddin, *Ecanibin...*, p. 76.

[6] The date given by various authors differs: See I. de Testa, *Recueil de Traités de la Porte Ottomane,* (Paris, Leroux, Vol. viii, p. 371, 1894), "Rapport de la commission française... sur la réforme judiciaire en Egypte"; "Les tribunaux mixtes de commerce créés en 1839"; Heidborn, *Manuel...*, p. 218, gives the date as 1840.

[7] G. Noradounghian, *Recueil d'Actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman,* (Paris, 1897-1903), II, 299.

[8] The name for the Office of the Director of Customs was *Gümrük Emaneti.* The date given by Cemaleddin, *Ecanibin...*, pp. 76-77, is Zilkade 1257 (December 1841: January 1842).

[9] Cemaleddin, *Ecanibin...*, p. 77. The decisions given by this court were called "سنتنسا", a phonetic transcription of the Italian "sentenza". After its merger in 1257 with the Imperial Customs, the Ministry of Commerce was turned over, in 1258 (1842-43), to the Mint, and re-emerged with an independent personality only in 1261 (1845). Wherever the Ministry went, the Commercial Court sat.

[10] See H. Temperley, *England and the Near East: The Crimea* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1936), p. 163. Similar steps were taken by Reşid for constitutional and criminal law at the time. See below, p. 10.

status of the commercial courts was regularized by the establishment of a new method for the appointment of judges. In a note dated 25 Rebiülahir 1263 (10 April 1847) [11] the Porte for the first time officially acknowledged the "mixed" composition of these commercial courts. Hereafter, the Porte was to select a panel of five Muslim and five non-Muslim arbitrators, while the foreign powers represented at the Porte were to arrange for the selection of a panel of ten merchants who were foreign nationals. Four or five of the latter were to be present on each occasion on the new commercial court which was presided over by the Minister of Commerce. The second development was much more important from the point of view of domestic reform: starting with 1849-50, special commissions were gradually established throughout the Empire to settle commercial conflicts arising between Ottoman citizens as well as between them and foreigners. These courts were to apply the customary European commercial law which had already been used in the mixed courts. Most of the judges sitting on them were to be civil servants, *i.e.*, employees of the Ministry of Commerce, sitting under the chairmanship of the governor. The Ministry itself was to serve as a court of appeals for these cases. Higher recourse to the *Şeyhülislâm* existed only in cases involving Muslims, *i.e.*, when the parties had already agreed to have the case tried under *Şer'i* law and a decision had been given by what may be presumed to have been the *Umur-u Nafia Müftüsü* as in the past. [12]

This latest extension of the system of lay commercial courts was of great importance in establishing the legitimacy of extra-*Şer'i* courts, for this time not only was the Porte sanctioning an already existing usage as it had done in the case of the circular note of 1840, but it was taking the initiative in establishing the foundations of a new system of courts and thus giving already an appearance of permanency to what it had introduced under the guise of a makeshift arrangement. This was done without recourse to the face-saving device of pretending to have had to give in to foreign pressures.

On May 22, 1850, a mixed court of maritime commerce was established at the Port Authority (*Liman Reisliği*) of İstanbul, and finally on July 28, 1850, the Ottoman Commercial code was promulgated. This was a translation and adaptation of sections I and III of the French Commercial Code. The move had been prompted by the constant conflicts that had arisen between the arbitrators themselves as to what the law was on a particular point. On the other hand, the great liberalizing of opinion that this important decision indicated must be studied in the general context of the evolution of Turkish

---

[11] George Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905), I, 248-249. Cemaleddin, *Ecanibin*, p. 77. One of the new regulations on the status of the Courts was proclaimed on the date of the circular note, another on the 12th of Safer 1264 — January 19, 1848.

[12] Testa, *Recueil*, VII, 425.

reform during the *Tanzimat* if we are to get its full import. In this latter context the code emerges as one link in a continuous series of measures aimed at remolding the state that went as far back as the reign of Sultan Selim III.

II — THE CRIMINAL CODE

An essential feature of the efforts to reform the Ottoman Empire had been the growth of the central power of the state at the expense of power and influence groups such as the Janissaries, the local pashas and the *Ulema*. At the time of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) this centralizing, in-gathering propensity had found its purest expression in the conduct of the Sultan himself, who could have said without any exaggeration: "L'État, c'est moi." A theoretical counterpart of the practice of this most centralizing of monarchs was the increased use, during his reign, of the *Örfi* (*ᶜUrfi*) theory of the Sultan's law-making power; the implicit as well as the explicit use of the *Örfi* theory of the Imperial prerogative was one of the major elements underlying the reforms carried out during Mahmud's time. This was manifested in the world of the law by a multiplication of firmans, edicts, ordinances, in a word, by a rise in the volume of extra-*Şerᵓi* legislation. It also appeared in Mahmud's only but extremely significant contribution to political theory, a collection of twenty-five *hadis* (ḥadīṯ) assembled on the order of the Sultan having regard to the absolute necessity of obedience to the sovereign. [13]

Among the corpus of extra-*Şerᵓi* laws passed during Mahmud's reign were the regulations applying to the reorganization of the army and those concerned with the re-furbishing of the machinery of the state as well as the statutes regulating the operation of new social institutions such as that of the quarantine. In the same vein two codes were drafted in the last year of Mahmud's reign (1254: 1838-39) defining the criminal responsibility of the *Ulema* in their public capacity and in particular with regard to such practices as accepting bribes, (*Tarik-i İlmiyeye Dair Ceza Kanunnamesi*), and that of civil servants (*Memurin Ceza Kanunu*). [14]

Soon all these new military and administrative regulations and statutes began to coalesce into an embryonic body of public law. Whereas in the past the unity of public and private law had been one of the most cherished fictions of the jurists, the overwhelming importance that the new "organic" statutes assumed in the everyday life of the citizen began to be disturbing to them. [15]

---

[13] See Yasinci Zâde Abdülvehhab, trs., *Hulāsat el-Burhān fī itaᶜat el-Sultān*, (Istanbul, 1247: 1831-32).

[14] See Hıfzı Veldet, "Kanunlaştırma Hareketleri ve Tanzimat," in *Tanzimat I: Yüzüncü Yildönümü Münasebetile*, (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), p. 170.

[15] The beginnings of the increase in organic statutes may be traced back to the reign of Selim III. It was during his reign that the first attempt was made to publish a *corpus* of new laws. See Mahmoud Rayf (sic) Efendi, *Tableau des*

If "l'État" consisted of Mahmud during his lifetime, after his death the reins of the state were inherited by the bureaucrats of the Porte under the leadership of Mahmud's "Vizir of Enlightenment," Mustafa Reşid Paşa.

These bureaucrats carried the legislative activities begun in Mahmud's time one step further. It was Reşid Paşa who placed the capstone of Ottoman public law by the active role he took in drafting the *Hatt-ı Hümâyun of Gülhane*. From the point of view of legal as well as political theory, the proclamation of this semi-constitutional charter on November 3, 1839, constituted the victory of *Örfi* law-making. This was so because apart from the purely formal concessions to the *Şeriat* in its preamble, the document established norms of legislation that were entirely independent of the *Şeriat* as it was clearly stated in the document itself in the passage where it was pointed out that "as long as such *organizing regulations* are not enacted neither strength nor prosperity can be attained." [16] (My italics.)

The extent to which the new law-making differed even from *Örfi* legislation may be understood if we remember that the matter to which the Rescript of Gülhane had reference was not the sanctioning of local usage, a common practice in Islam, nor the legal expression of the Imperial will, but the legislation of new principles of public law by the machinery of the state. Reşid Paşa had already seen to it in 1837, two years before the proclamation of the rescript, that such an impersonal, law-making body should be created. He had convinced the Sultan of the need to establish a Supreme Council, the *Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-i Adliye,* which was entrusted with the preparation of new administrative and other regulations. The increasing importance of statute as against religious law, however, was not the only way in which *Hatt-ı Hümâyun* cut the ground from under the *Ulema's* feet. For one, after the proclamation of the rescript, the local religious judges (*Kadıs*) were gradually shorn of all their quasi-administrative functions. [17] Secondly, development occurred shortly after the proclamation which established, on stronger institutional foundations than had hitherto existed, the jurisdiction of extra-*Şer'i* courts over criminal cases. Finally, signs appeared showing that a rather unusual, if as yet veiled, secular conception, that of "the people," was now competing with the *Şer'* for the honor of constituting the major underpinning of the state. The following are the steps which these two latter developments unfolded.

The *Hatt-ı Hümâyun* of Gülhane had solemnly affirmed that the means to ensure the preservation of every citizen's "life, property and honor" would be provided. This promise, in turn, led to the drafting of an explicit code as to how this protection was to be achieved. Within

---

Nouveaux Règlements de l'Empire Ottoman, (Constantinople: Nouvelle Imprimerie du Génie, 1798).

[16] Belin, "Charte des Turcs," *Journal Asiatique,* Series 3: IX: 21, January 1840.

[17] Ergin, *Mecelle*;, p. 273.

six months of the proclamation of the rescript (on May 3, 1840: 1 Rebiülevvel 1258) a criminal code was promulgated whose enforcement was entrusted in its concluding sections "not only to the Public Servants of the Ottoman State, but in pursuance to the principle of a common share in the law, to all individuals." [18]

Thus the chain of events leading to the drafting of the criminal code, as well as its content, supports the idea that the code was more than anything a parcel of a series of organic-constitutional laws which taken together amounted to nothing less than the transformation of the foundations of the Ottoman State. In addition, at the time of the promulgation of the criminal code, the principle of appeal, which was not, strictly speaking, an Islamic principle, was introduced into the law of the land by making the Supreme Council function as a supreme court of appeals in criminal cases.

Although the provisions of the criminal code had reference to such *Şer'i* principles as the *Kısas* (talion), the procedure already current in the Ottoman Empire of referring criminal cases to secular authorities was now embodied in the provision granting jurisdiction over criminal cases to local assemblies. However, the steps that were taken to establish what amounted to embryonic criminal courts were, again, a true innovation. [19]

(to be continued)

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

ŞERIF ARIF MARDIN

---

[18] For the text of the law see Ahmed Lütfi, *Mirât-ı Adalet,* (Istanbul: Nişan Berberyan, 1304: 1888 A.D.), pp. 127-146. This clause was almost an identical replica of the final clause of the French Charter of 1830. See *Annuaire Historique Universel pour 1840* (Paris, 1842), p. 541. The same year the Sultan gave voice to a theory of the auto-limitation of his powers by imposing on himself the obligation to render an account of the "situation" of the Empire every year to the Supreme Council. *Ibid.,* p. 452.

[19] In 1262 the Ministry of Police (*Zabtiye Nezareti*) was established, and on the 12th of Safer 1262 (9 February 1846) a court called the *Zabtiye Meclisi* (Police Court) was installed in the capital. This court consisted of a presiding officer, a *muftü* and an assessor. See Ergin, *Mecelle...*, p. 937 ff. *Takvim-i Vekayi* 22 Rebiülevvel 1262. After a while this organization was dissolved and two new tribunals established in its place named *Divan-i Zabtiye* and *Meclis-i Tahkik* (Court of Investigation). It was stated at the time that these two courts had been established to enforce the Criminal Code of 1840. The *Divan-i Zabtiye* was a court for petty crimes composed of a chairman, five Muslims and four non-Muslim Ottomans and was empowered to pass sentence. The *Meclis-i Tahkik,* to which went the more serious offenses, could carry on only preliminary investigations; it was composed of a chairman, five Muslims and three Christian Ottomans. In both courts one member of the panel was to be an *Âlim.* Mention is made in the firman establishing these bodies of the delay which had occurred in the preparation of a general code of criminal procedure. Ergin, *Mecelle...* p. 936 ff. A later firman dated 1270 (1854) confirmed the juridical attributes of the *Meclis-i Tahkik.* See Cemaleddin, *Ecanibin* , p. 401. Cf. Heidborn, *Manuel...*, I, p. 224.

ISLAM: THE PARISH SITUATION AND THE VIRTUOSO COMMUNITY

1. *Introduction.* The religion of the layman may be called, sociologically speaking, parish religion. It centers generally in the activities of a local comunity of co-religionists who, in their religious life, gravitate towards a parish "church" (the layman's place of congregational or individual worship), and whose religious life is directed by a "pastor."

The opposite of parish religion, and hence of lay religion, is virtuoso religion. The virtuoso is a person who seems to have a gift for some sort of direct religious experience, and a special aptitude for the religious life. The virtuoso is one who endeavors, ideally, to devote all his energies to the quest for personal holiness, in the belief that self-purification will free him to assist all mankind towards some degree of personal sanctification.

The religious virtuoso (the term is borrowed from Max Weber's *Religionssoziologie*) is often regarded by the layman as a kind of religious eccentric, as one touched by divine lunacy, although this need not be the case. The virtuoso may be treated with awe and fear, or with suspicion, or with veneration. In any case, the extent to which he is accepted by the lay community depends upon the extent to which virtuosity has been incorporated into the cultural pattern of society, and the extent to which the particular virtuoso conforms to expectation.

The virtuoso tends to seclude himself, tends to isolate himself, from lay society and the workaday world. He may, however, wander freely in and out of lay communities, and accept gifts of food and temporary shelter from lay devotees. And as his reputation for holiness spreads, lay devotees will look to him increasingly for spiritual guidance, healing, or simply for the privilege of "touching the hem of his garment."

Religious virtuosi may of course form into special communities, when they sense that they will be better able to accomplish their quest for holiness as a sacred brotherhood. The life of virtuosi of this type represents a compromise with the virtuoso ideal, for these are generally persons who feel that they are lacking in sufficient discipline for the solitary life, and therefore must seek holiness through the routinized common life.

But there is more to the tendency of virtuosi to form into sacred communities than the simple desire for the disciplines of common residence and common worship. We have mentioned that the virtuoso generally has some feeling that his private quest for self-fulfillment is but a part of a larger quest, the quest of all humanity for sanctification. It is this sense, that personal holiness sets free within the holy man a great compassion for all mankind, and the awareness on the part of the holy man that a devoted laity naturally gravitates toward

him and desires to revere and venerate him and participate in his sanctity, that often induce virtuosi to congregate, to live in common residence, and to make themselves accessible to their lay devotees. When this happens, the community of virtuosi build for themselves (or allow the laity to build for them) a place of permanent residence, generally called a "monastery," and begin to serve the local lay community as quasi-pastors. They may fill this function in the absence of a parish clergy, where no parish situation would otherwise exist, or they may simply work alongside an already established parish clergy, supplementing their activity.

Conspicuous examples of the resident community of virtuosi are to be found within Buddhist and Christian monasticism. In both traditions one finds examples of sacred communities in which the members' quest for sanctity takes precedence over pastoral work (as for example with the Carthusian monks or the Carmelite nuns, or the Buddhist *sangha* in Burma or Ceylon), and one finds examples in which parish responsibilities tend to dominate over the virtuoso life of the members (as in Japanese Buddhism, or Christian missionary foundations like those of the Oblate Fathers in the James Bay area of Canada).

Just as Islam has its solitary virtuosi, the *abdāl* and *murābiṭūn*, and so on,[1] it has also its communities of virtuosi, both of the type in which the virtuoso ideal dominates (for example, the Darwishes), and the type in which parish duties dominate (for example, the Sanūsi). But before the role of these special religious communities in Islamic society can be appreciated, we must first have an understanding of the conventional parish situation in Islam — that is to say, of lay, or parish, religion.

2. *The Conventional Parish Situation in Islam.* One rarely finds a book on the Muslim religion which does not at some point declare, "There is no clergy in Islam." Muslim authors are especially apt to insist on this, and for very important propagandistic reasons. Muslim teachings have stressed, from the very beginning, that Islam means submission to God, and that in this submission man is alone: no one can help him to submit, nor do his submitting for him. Muhammad himself claimed to be but God's messenger (*rasūl*).

In classical Islamic theory, then, there is no room for a mediatorial class of religious specialists; there is no room for a "clergy." Does this mean that each Muslim "goes it alone" religiously, that there is no place for a corporate religious life among the Muslim laity, and that consequently there is no room for what we have called a "parish situation" in Islam? Obviously not. In all religions virtuosi are few. And in all religions the ordinary layman looks for someone to guide or

[1] For some brief accounts, see Knud Holmboe's *Desert Encounter* (New York, 1937), pp. 29-31. Charles Furlong's *The Gateway to the Sahara* (New York, 1914), pp. 49-50, and Lucy Garnett's *Mysticism and Magic in Turkey* (London, 1912, pp. 37-38.

assist him in his religious life; and he looks for some opportunity to express in some corporate way his feelings of reverence and his yearnings for blessedness, through fastings and festivities; he looks for a chance for pageantry, and for fellowship, and inevitably he looks to someone to direct the corporate religious life.

One can get a feeling for the Muslim parish situation by examining any of the life-cycle ceremonies (weddings, funerals, birth rites, and so on) observed in Muslim countries. These ceremonies often, strictly speaking, do not require the services of personnel regularly attached to the parish center, the mosque; but specialists in matters of religion and Scripture who are in the employ of the mosque and its religious school are often called in to assist. In the case of a death in the family, special Muslim prayers (*ṣalāt*) are performed in the home, at the mosque, and later on at the graveside, and at home on regular anniversary occasions after the funeral. The members of the family and the friends of the deceased are led in these observances by an *imām,* who is selected from among their company as the most learned or important person in the assembly. Technically, this function can be filled by any Muslim in good standing, who is sufficiently familiar with the techniques of *ṣalāt.* Or, he may be the regular prayer leader (*imām*) of the mosque. This is a permanent position for which he has qualified by his theological training. It is not fully a clerical office, however, in that the *imām* is an *imām* only during the time he is actually engaged in leading prayers; that is to say, he is in no sense a pastor to the lay community, but only a salaried functionary within the mosque, not paid by the congregation but from endowments.

The funeral procession may include students attending the religious school at the mosque, who carry a copy of the holy Qur'ān and recite poems descriptive of the Last Judgment, and so on. In the service at the mosque, teachers from the mosque's religious school may recite passages from the Qur'ān; they may also go to the grave afterwards and, after the interment, instruct the spirit of the deceased on the proper replies to the catechetical questions the inquiring angels will pose. On the first night following the burial, these religious teachers may go to the home of the deceased's family and there recite Scripture at their request, and recite the Muslim's creedal affirmation "There is no God but God," and also use a rosary.

When a wedding is to take place, a religious teacher from the mosque may be called in to instruct the bridal couple on how to recite vows to each other, and to prompt them in the recitation of their vows. It will be noted too that formal prayers (*ṣalāt*) at the mosque also play a part in the wedding ritual, at least on the part of the bridegroom and his party.

When circumcision is performed, the mosque again figures in the observance, and there is again a procession to and from the mosque;

and religious teachers from the mosque may be asked to march in the procession and chant an ode in praise of Muhammad. [2]

Is it true that "there is no clergy in Islam?" Strictly speaking, one has to admit this is true; and yet the statement as it stands can be very misleading. It is quite valid to point out that in the Muslim parish community there is no single person whose vocation and profession are to conduct the affairs of the parish, officiate at weekly services and deliver a regular sermon, to perform marriages and conduct funeral services, and so on. There is no single pastoral office within the Muslim parish. And yet it is obvious that there is a "parish situation" for each community of Muslim laymen: the mosque does serve as a center for the religious life of the community, and personnel from the mosque and its religious school do become involved in the day-to-day religious life of the laity. The claim of "no clergy" in Islam is significant for us only in so far as it points up the success which Islam has had in keeping its learned men, its salaried prayer leaders, and so on, from becoming alleged vicars of God, to whom the naive layman might look for grace, rather than to Allah who is the only source of life and grace and sanctity.

The Muslim is of course required by religious law to perform the *ṣalāt* or formal worship five times a day; he may do this alone, although it is preferred that he do it as a member of an assembly; and individuals or the assembly may perform their *ṣalāt* wherever they may be, but again it is preferred that, whenever possible, it be performed in the mosque (*masjid*). [3] Performance of the Friday *ṣalāt* in the mosque is, however, an obligation which is binding for every "male, adult, free Muslim, at least as far as he is legally considered 'resident in the locality.' " [4] On this occasion a sermon is delivered by a man called the *khaṭīb*. He acts as *imām* during the Friday services, but is often not the person who performs this duty in the mosque on other days of the week. His position within the parish is one of unusual dignity, and is usually inherited. He is usually the person to whom a convert will go to announce his conversion to Islam. [5] The sermon he delivers is called the *khuṭba,* and is in fact a pair of sermons, delivered the one after the other. These sermons can be very dull affairs indeed, conducted as they are in Arabic, and following a stereotyped format which leaves little or no opportunity for the preacher to speak to the problems that most concern his hearers; here,

---

[2] This very sketchy account of Muslim life-cycle ceremonies is based primarily on descriptions reported in Kenneth W. Morgan, ed., *Islam — The Straight Path* (New York, 1958), and in Edward William Lane's rather dated but still useful *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1849).

[3] H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1953), p. 495.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 93.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 252.

as elsewhere, parish Islam is still weighted down by a kind of medieval scholasticism. [6]

There is no real provision for pastoral counseling within the Muslim parish situation; at least, the *khaṭīb* confines his pastoral activities to the delivery of the weekly sermon, with its rather inflexible format, and the *imām* has no authority except as a conductor of the prayer ritual. Perhaps the *ᶜulamāᵓ*, who are the qualified interpreters of the Qurᵓān, the *Sunnah* and *Ijmāᶜ* might be considered substitute pastors in these matters, but of course their only authority for giving opinions and advice derives from their knowledge of the sacred law and their experience in giving legal opinions based upon its proper interpretation. In this, he might be compared to the rabbi in classical Judaism. Certainly he may in no way be compared to the Christian priest or minister, nor to most contemporary Jewish rabbis. It is significant, in this, that two people having difficulties with their marriage are advised first to seek the help of their families in resolving their problem, [7] and to report to the religious courts only if their own efforts have failed completely.

3. *The Virtuoso Community in Islam.* The community of virtuosi is very much in evidence in Islam. These monastic or quasi-monastic communities are the bearers of Muslim Sufism. Most of them fall within the Sunni camp, although some are Shīᶜī, and surely there is a significant connection between these brotherhoods and Shīᶜī Islam: most of the founders of these communities claimed descent from early Shīᶜī personalities and eventually from ᶜAlī himself, and thence the Prophet; that is to say, the Ṣūfī virtuoso brotherhoods claim to stand in a direct line of charismatic succession with Muhammad and ᶜAlī, through which has passed the esoteric knowledge upon which each brotherhood is allegedly founded. [8] The brotherhood itself is called a ṭarīqa, a "path" or a "way" (the teachings of the brotherhood point out the "path" or "way" of true Islam). As Ziadeh says,

> The founder of each *ṭarīqa* established a *silsila* (chain) which connected him, spiritually, with the prophet, Gabriel and finally with God. The shaykh held this position as heir to the founder... through a line of successors, each of whom imparted his *maᶜrifa* (experience) to the one following him. [9]

The *shaikh* or *pir* (Persian) or *baba* (Turkish) is thus the spiritual guide and father to his community of virtuosi, and the central figure within the monastery. The brethren who come under his tutelage live in reverence and obedience to him.

---

[6] Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 121.
[8] H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism* (Oxford, 1953), p. 119.
[9] Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Sanūsīyah: A Study of a Revivalist Movement in Islam* (Leiden, 1958), p. 9.

Their religious center may be called a *tekke* or *tekkīyah* (Turkish), or it may be called a *zāwiya* (Arabic), (literally a corner; hence, a cell, and thus a "building containing a group of cells for individual ascetics and pilgrims, in connection with a large hall for public exercises"),[10] or it may be called by the older name of *ribāṭ,* or place of retreat (Persian, *khāngāh*). These centers are generally built through financial support given by laymen devoted to the comunity, "so that both shaikhs and disciples might have no need to engage in secular occupations, but devote themselves to pious exercises and meditation."[11]

An unusual disciple of one of these centers may eventually leave the monastery and establish his own center for virtuosi; when this happens, the new monastery remains tied to the old one, and its head remains loyal to his *shaikh.* Thus, "from a single centre a chain of affiliated institutions spread[s] far and wide, linked by ties of reverence, obedience, and common ritual to the original *shaikh* or *pir.*"[12] Upon the death of the *shaikh* of the head monastery, the most able *shaikh* of the order is chosen to succeed him.

Almost invariably there exists within the Muslim *ṭarīqa* a kind of caste division between the full status virtuosi and their lay followers. The virtuosi, who reside within the compound of the monastic center, may be called *darwīshes* (dervishes), or *fuqarā'* (plural of *faqīr*), that is, poor men, or they may be called *ikhwān,* brethren. These virtuosi are sometimes celibate, but need not be. As Arberry notes, "It is important to remark that residence in a Sufi convent by no means implied celibacy, and most of the famous Muslim mystics are known to have been married."[13]

Dependent upon the brethren for spiritual guidance are the lay devotees, who are loosely affiliated to the virtuoso community and attend regular devotional services with the brethren in the worship center at the *tekke* or *zāwiya*; they do not however live at the "monastery," but engage themselves in the normal workaday life of the town or the desert. They are considered supporters of the virtuoso community, but they are not full members of the order by vocation; they are, for example, craftsmen or shepherds who participate on regular occasions in the worship life of the community of virtuosi, without being virtuosi themselves.[14]

Now, as we have mentioned above, there seem to us to be, broadly speaking, two basic types of Muslim *ṭuruq* (plural of *ṭarīqa*): the first

---

[10] Frederick Jones Bliss, *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine* (New York, 1912), p. 255.
[11] Gibb, *op. cit.,* p. 117.
[12] *Ibid.,* p. 117.
[13] Arthur J. Arberry, *Sufism: An Account of the Mystics of Islam* (London, 1950), pp. 84-85.
[14] *Ibid.,* p. 89; Gibb, *op. cit.,* p. 118.

type flourishes in areas, such as the desert region of North Africa, where there would normally be no "parish situation," because of the distance of town and village settlements where the mosque and its personnel are to be found, and because of the highly unstable life of the people who inhabit these regions. In such situations, the *zāwiya* or "monastery" center functions as a kind of mission, bringing the Islamic parish situation to a people who would otherwise have no immediate contact with "parish" Islam. We have chosen the Sanūsī *zāwiya* as an example of this type of settlement.

The second type, which tends to flourish near the towns and villages of more settled regions, augments rather than substitutes for the normal Muslim parish; it is the function of this type of virtuoso community, at best, to bring into the religious life of the laymen living nearby a dimension of spiritual experience which they cannot find within the rather simple and austere life centering around the mosque, with its professors of the canon law. Our example of this type of virtuoso community will be the Dervishes, for example the Mawlawīya (Mevlevi), and the Dervish *tekke*.

(a) *Quasi-Parish Enclosures, and their Resident Communities.* Before the arrival of the Sanūsi brethren in the desert regions of Cyrenaica, the Bedouin who lived there had been Muslims, but little more than nominal Muslims. Islam had in no sense deeply affected or transformed their lives. Their Islam was in fact quite an informal affair. Before the beginning of Ramaḍān, for example, some of the Bedouin would ride to the valley of Wadi Zaza, which enjoyed great fame for its extraordinary echo. The Bedouin would shout into the valley: "Wadi Zaza, Wadi Zaza, shall we keep Ramaḍān or no?" The echo of course came back: "No-no-no!" The Bedouin, having heard their oracle, would then ride back and forget about the Ramaḍān fast until the next year. [15]

Another story is told of the pre-Sanūsi Bedouin. Certain influential Bedouin chiefs, who felt that the *ḥajj* was quite an unreasonable demand to make of them, built, at al-Jabal al-Akhḍar, in the north of Cyrenaica, a kind of ersatz Kaʿba, and spread the news among their fellow tribesmen that a trip to al-Jabal al-Akhḍar was equivalent, for Bedouin, to the sacred pilgrimage to Mecca. [16]

It was into this situation that the Sanūsi came, and built their *zāwiyas*. These religious centers at once provided the desert Bedouin with "schools, caravanserai, commercial centers, social centers, forts, courts of law, banks, store houses, poor houses, sanctuary, and burial grounds, besides being channels through which ran a generous stream of God's blessing." [17] A good-sized *zāwiya* should include a mosque

---

[15] Ahmed M. Hassanein Bey, *The Lost Oases* (New York, 1925), p. 45.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
[17] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* (Oxford, 1949), p. 79.

(Ziadeh calls this "an essential part" of the *zāwiya*); [18] schoolrooms, including lodging for the teachers and the students, and of course classrooms; guest rooms, or what might be called retreat-house facilities; apartments for the *shaikh* and his family; houses for the *ikhwān* and their families; kitchens and storerooms, an armory, and workshops for leather work, smithy, carpentry, book-binding, and so on. The entire compound is surrounded by walls, and may house in all fifty to a hundred people, including wives and chidren. [19] As well as being a religious and an educational center, the *zāwiya* may serve as a craft-training center (at Jaghbūb, for example, the student "is expected to acquaint himself with a number of trades," including "carpentry, smithy, building, spinning, weaving, dyeing, bookbinding, and mat-making"), [20] a fortress against attack (the founder of the order probably feared Turkish "police action": and the Sanūsi *zāwiyas* proved especially useful as centers of defense during the days of Italian fascist expansion, in the period before World War II), and as a market place ("regular fairs were held and merchandise of every description was exchanged. The *zāwiya* was an emporium and a caravanserai)." [21] But above all, the *zāwiyas* are, in Evans-Pritchard's words, "centres of culture and security in a wild country and amid a fierce people"; they are "stable points in a country where all else [is] constantly on the move"; and they exist so that the Bedouin and their children "might learn from scholarly and pious men the faith and precepts of Islam, that they might have the opportunity to worship in a mosque, and that by charity to their lodges they might earn recompense hereafter." [22]

The desert *zāwiya* is generally the parish center for a particular tribe or tribal section. That is to say, the brethren of the enclosure are pledged to provide the tribe with a school for their children, courts to settle their disputes, a mosque for worship, and so on; and the tribesmen in turn are responsible for the support of the settlement. When a tribe or tribal section wishes to establish this sort of parish situation, it sends a deputation to the main *zāwiya* at Jaghbūb to request that a pious *shaikh* come and settle among them and establish a center. The *shaikh,* who is selected by the main *shaikh* of the order, is chosen from among the scholars resident at the order's headquarters; this *shaikh* will probably take with him one or two of the *ikhwān,* or brothers of the order. The actual site for the monastery will be chosen

---

[18] *Op. cit.,* p. 114.
[19] Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.,* p. 74; Ziadeh, *op. cit.,* pp. 105-106, 114.
[20] Ziadeh, *op. cit.,* p. 106.
[21] *Ibid.,* p. 114.
[22] *Op. cit.,* pp. 79-80. We have described here a typical good-sized *zāwiya*; there do exist of course much more modest Sanūsi establishments, some of them just single-building lodges, made of mud, and located in far-away oases. See Rosita Forbes, *The Secret of the Sahara: Kufara* (New York, 1921), pp. 94-95, and Hassanein Bey, *op. cit.,* p. 44.

by the tribal chief; it must be the most favored spot within the tribe's territory. The *ikhwān,* who will have learned carpentry and construction at the order's seminary, will do the actual work of constructing the *zāwiya,* with the tribal chief acting as a kind of overseer of the whole operation. It is important that the lodge be located in choice surroundings, because the tribal sections are expected to assign over to the Sanūsi brethren an estate surrounding the lodge, henceforth to be called the lodge's *ḥaram,* which will provide the brethren with their means of support; where the lodge is established on plateau lands, it should be endowed with arable land; where it is located in the steppe, it should be endowed with wells; and where it is built in an oasis, the brethren should have at their disposal date-palms and springs.[23]

Most of the work of cultivating these lands is done by the *zāwiya* community itself, although often the tribesmen join in and help. As Evans-Pritchard stated: "At sowing time the Shaikh would pitch his tent near the area and prepare a communal meal, taking with him some sacks of rice for the purpose. The local Bedouin then came with their draft animals and sowed and plowed for a couple days on behalf of the zawiya. The same procedure took place at harvest time."[24] Besides rendering this voluntary service to the lodge, the local Bedouin are expected to pay a regular tithe to the *zāwiya* community after lambing.[25] They are also under an obligation to defend their *zāwiya* in case of attack.[26] But by and large it was the intention of the founders of the Sanūsi order that each community should be basically self-supporting and independent, and should provide for itself by farming and by stock-raising, rather than by alms.[27]

Each lodge is ruled over by a *shaikh,* who is the vicar of the head of the whole order, who in turn stands in the line of apostolic succession that can be traced back to the Prophet himself. This *shaikh* of the parish *zāwiya* acts at once as judge, *imām* (at the Friday services, especially), host to travellers, administrator of the lodge, popular representative of his lay constituency in dealings with the government (this role was particularly important during the Turkish administration), and leader of the tribesmen in holy war. The *shaikh* may also have a deputy who acts as *imām* during the week and teaches the Qurʾān and canon law, a *muʿallim* who teaches basic subjects, the three R's) in the *zāwiya* school, and perhaps a special *muʾadhdhin* to deliver the call to prayer (although any of the *ikhwān* may fill this function).[28]

---

[23] Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.,* p. 74.
[24] *Ibid.,* p. 75.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 75.
[26] *Ibid.,* p. 76.
[27] *Ibid.,* p. 7.
[28] *Ibid.,* p. 80.

Although in principle when a *shaikh* dies his replacement must be appointed by the head of the order in Jaghbūb, in practice this decision is now usually made by the parish community itself, and simply confirmed by Jaghbūb. As one Bedouin put it, "The Shaikh of our zāwiya must be a man favored by the hearts of the people." In keeping with tribal sentiment, if the deceased *shaikh* has left behind a son or brother who could suitably fill his post, he is chosen, and the shaikhship is kept within the same family. This tendency to regard the position of *zāwiya shaikh* as hereditary has become "very marked," according to Evans-Pritchard. [29]

The *ikhwān* themselves, as has been noted above, marry and raise families and live with their families inside the compound. The *zāwiya* thus cannot strictly be called a monastery, and the *ikhwān* have none of the characteristics of the radical ascetic: they "eat and dress well, ...and are amiable and merry companions." [30] It is, however, interesting to note that the *ikhwān* and their families tend strongly to endogamy, as do the Bedouin laity; a Bedouin tribesman does not as a rule marry into the family of one of the *ikhwān,* for the *ikhwān* are "a different kind of people." [31]

> As may be gathered from this, the Bedouin regard the Sanūsi virtuosi with a curious mixture of respect and condescension. They look up to them as learned and pious men who posses *baraka,* they kiss their hands, they call them "Sidi," and they listen respectfully to their admonishments and arbitraments. At the same time they look down on them for not being tribesmen and Bedouin, children of the tents. The Bedouin harmonize these conflicting attitudes by saying that a *Murabat* is a different kind of person from a Bedouin — cannot be expected to behave in the same way or to have the same outlook. He has been brought up to read books, pray, wash, and to do other things the Bedouin finds unnecessary in his own life. He has not been reared in the roving life of the tents nor learned the shepherd's art. [32]

The attitude of the Sanūsi layman toward the Sanūsī virtuosi is thus the typical attitude of the bourgeois parishioner towards his clergyman: the clergyman is a bit odd, and a bit sissy, but he does have one gift; he is an expert in religion, and in his religious life the parish layman needs to have an expert working for him and pulling for him. Thus, although the Bedouin tribesmen are generally "negligent Muslims themselves they respect piety in others. Brothers of the Sanusiya Order and religious men in general ought to pray regularly. That is their business and it is very necessary for the well-being of the community

---

[29] *Ibid.,* p. 80.
[30] *Ibid.,* p. 7.
[31] *Ibid.,* p. 83.
[32] *Ibid.,* p. 83.

and worthy of liberal support, but the Bedouin is an unlettered man, a shepherd, and a warrior, and he has his own affairs to see to." [33]

(b) *Radical-Virtuoso Enclosures, and their Resident Communities.* The centrality of the virtuoso ideal among the Darwishes becomes evident from the first. The Darwish lodge or *tekke* is generally located in a "picturesque and commanding" spot, occasionally within a town or city, but usually in the suburban area. [34] Birge reports that "with few, if any, exceptions" the Bektashi *tekkes* are to be found either at the outskirts of a town, or, more often, "at a very considerable distance from the town or from other houses." [35] The contrast between the Darwish lodges and those of the Sanūsi order becomes especially apparent when we compare the layout of the one to the layout of the other. The central area within a good-sized Sanūsi *zāwiya* is a large open space, which serves as a kind of village square, where camel caravans may rest, where the activities of the bazaar may be conducted, and where Bedouin tribesmen may congregate and mingle with the families that reside within the enclosure; the worship center, or mosque, is off to one side, along with the classrooms and other buildings of the compound. This arrangement of buildings within the walls of the *zāwiya* represents in some sense the purpose and function of the establishment. The place of worship, the school, the guest houses, all of which serve the tribal community in one way or another, range along the outer periphery of the enclosure; the central space is left for less formal expression of the life of the parish community.

Now, the Sanūsi lodge is an example of what we have called the quasi-parish enclosure: the place of work and worship and residence of a community of virtuosi whose lives are devoted primarily to providing lay believers with some substitute for the "parish situation." Very sharply in contrast to this type of enclosure is the layout of the Mawlawīya Darwish *tekke,* where one's attention is directed immediately to the large building which dominates and fills the center of the compound. This is the hall where the *dhikr,* or sacred liturgy of the community, is performed. Surrounding this central hall are the residences of the virtuosi, all opening out onto the courtyard surrounding the devotional hall. The arrangement is quite similar to the plan of the typical Eastern Orthodox Christian monastery of Mt. Athos, perhaps the best example one could find of a radical-virtuoso enclosure outside the Muslim tradition. By a radical-virtuoso community we mean of course a community of virtuosi for whom the quest for personal sanctification takes precedence over all other duties.

The central hall of the Mawlawīya *tekke* is called the *Semᶜa Khaneh,* or Hall of Celestial Sounds.

---

[33] *Ibid.,* p. 63.
[34] Lucy Garnett, *op. cit.,* p. 64.
[35] John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (London, 1937), p. 175.

> This is usually a square building of whitewashed masonry, with a domed and red-tiled roof. The interior arrangements vary somewhat, but are always marked by the utmost simplicity. A circular space in the centre is smoothly planked and reserved for the performances of the Dervishes. It is divided by a low wooden railing from the rest of the floor, which is covered with matting and occupied during the public services by the male spectators. A gallery, supported on wooden pillars, runs round three sides...; one side of it is occupied by the *Mutrib,* or orchestra, and the other two by the women and children, who are concealed from view by carved lattices. In some *Tekkehs,* where the gallery is only large enough to accomodate the orchestra, a corner of the ground floor is partitioned off for the women. The only attempts at decoration are tablets on the walls inscribed with texts from the Koran, and with the names of Allah, Mohammed, Ali, and Hasan and Husein, the grandsons of the Prophet. As in the public mosques, the direction of Mekka is indicated by a niche in the wall, surmounted by the name of the *Pir,* or Founder of the Order, and sometimes also by the Moslem profession of faith; or the word Bismillah ("In the Name of Allah"). In a corner of many *Tekkehs* is the shrine of a departed saintly sheikh, covered with costly carpets and rich draperies.... [36]

In the Mawlawīya *tekke* enclosure, besides the central place of worship, there is a separate apartment called the *Ismi Jeleeh Hujreh,* which constitutes a sort of private chapel, in which the Dervishes perform the daily worship exercises, to which the laity apparently are not invited. We are not at all sure about the location of this "apartment," but it may well be a special room within the central hall itself. [37]

> As we have mentioned before, the courtyard surrounding the worship center:
> gives access to the cells of the monastic Dervishes and their Sheikh. These are, in a fully equipped monastery, eighteen in number, and form a quadrangle of low buildings, with a roof sloping to the front, and covering a broad verandah into which all the doors and windows open. Beyond are flower and fruit gardens, shaded by cypress, mulberry, and plane trees, the haunts of storks and pigeons; and, enclosed by the arched gateway and tile-topped wall, are cisterns and fountains of sparkling water furnished with iron ladles for the use of the thirsty. Sometimes... there are also cool, shady cloisters and raised terraces and kiosks, commanding magnificent views of mountain, plain and sea. And here, when the evening shadows are lengthening, the mystics, in their picturesque and solemn attire, may be seen

[36] Garnett, *op. cit.,* pp. 64-65.
[37] *Ibid.,* p. 65.

> pacing tranquilly to and fro; or, seated on the broad wooden benches, meditatively passing through their fingers the brown beads of their long *tesbehs,* or rosaries, on their faces that expression of perfect repose which indifference to the world and its doings alone can give. [38]

There is always provision, in the Mawlawīya *tekke,* for temporarily housing travelling Dervishes, regardless of the order they may belong to, and for lay Muslims on their pilgrimage. However this is not regarded as a regular function of the establishment, and overnight lay guests are welcomed within the compound generally only if they could find no other place of refuge. [39] Again we are reminded that the emphasis here is on the virtuosity of the community of initiates; the quasi-parish type of enclosure, by contrast, always makes ample provision for retreat-house facilities.

As in the case of Sanūsi lodges, most Darwish *tekkes* have been endowed with *vakouf,* or landed property, which has been donated by lay devotees. From these lands the resident community derives its support. [40]

Lucy Garnett reports that a Darwish *tekke* usually houses from fifteen to thirty disciples, and their *shaikh.* [41] Celibate Darwishes, she says, live within the compound; married Dervishes live in town with their families, but come to the monastery once or twice a week and stay overnight, in order to participate in the religious exercises of the community the next day. The lay devotees, who affiliate themselves with the order, must pass their novitiate in the monastery, but when they return to their ordinary pursuits, "withdrawing, however, as much as possible from all intercourse with the world, and endeavoring to lead spiritual and holy lives." [42]

As among the Mawlawīya, one finds both celibate Bektashi Dervishes and married ones. But in Bektashiism, these constitute two separate branches of the order. And evidently the monastic state is regarded as superior to the married. [43]

The *baba,* besides being the spiritual father of the community of virtuosi, is beloved as "pastor to the wider flock of those in families and among friends" of the Dervish community who look to him "as friend and priest and advisor." [44] This wider flock constitute the *aşiks,* or lay followers of the community. The word *aşik* literally means "one who loves," or "an affectionate friend," and may refer to one of two classes of lay followers: (a) those who are considering

---

[38] *Ibid.,* p. 66.
[39] *Ibid.,* p. 93.
[40] *Ibid.,* p. 66.
[41] *Ibid.,* p. 78.
[42] *Ibid.,* pp. 89-90.
[43] Birge, *op. cit.,* p. 164.
[44] *Ibid.,* p. 165.

membership in the virtuoso community, who visit the *tekke* and talk with the *baba*; and (b) members of the families of Bektashi Dervishes who are not themselves Dervishes yet count themselves as members of the wider community.[45] These latter persons constitute something of a parish community for the virtuosi; their marriages are performed by the *baba,* and their funerals as well;[46] their babies are brought to him for blessing(he may in fact even be asked to choose a name for the new baby).[47] When they are in personal difficulties these persons look to the *baba* for pastoral counseling, and they regularly visit him on special days.[48]

Inevitably a devoted laity gravitates toward the virtuoso, and desires to participate in his holiness. The Darwishes have been rather successful in limiting the parish activities they take on, by stressing the mystery that centers in their hall of worship, thereby not allowing their residential centers to become fair grounds or bazaars or community playgrounds or overnight motels; and by making explicit the division that separates the virtuoso from the layman (it would appear that among the Sanūsi this distinction is insisted upon first by the laity!), even to the extent in some cases of making chastity a condition for full participation or higher status within the community.

But it is natural too that a man of God should show concern for the welfare of the laity. And so even the orders which radically affirm the centrality of their quest for holiness within the life of the monastic compound allow a circle of lay devotees to form around them. For the layman who affiliates himself with a Dervish community, the *tekke* becomes a kind of auxiliary parish; and his relation to it "is much more personal than to a mosque...."[49]

University of Vermont,
Burlington, Vermont

ALBERT W. SADLER

---

[45] *Ibid.,* p. 162.
[46] *Ibid.,* p. 165.
[47] *Ibid.,* p. 162.
[48] *Ibid.,* p. 162.
[49] Gibb and Kramers, *op. cit.,* p. 74.

RELATION OF SHĪ'A THEOLOGY TO THE QUR'ĀN

PART II

We continue in this second instalment our comments on the Shī'a variants of the Codex of 'Alī as reconstructed by Professor Jeffery:

In the 'Uthmānic redaction of the Qur'ān verse 2 : 192 opens with the words:

وَأَتِمُّوا ٱلْحَجَّ وَٱلْعُمْرَةَ لِلَّهِ ....

And fulfil the Pilgrimage and the Visitation to God..... The Codex of 'Alī reads instead as follows:

وَأَقِيمُوا ٱلْحَجَّ وَٱلْعُمْرَةَ لِلْبَيْتِ ...

And perform the Pilgrimage and the Visitation to the House.....

Had the word House been part of the standard Sunnī reading, we would readily have accepted it to mean the House of Ka'ba. But since the variant appears in 'Alī's Codex, it may have been intended to mean the Family of 'Alī rather than Ka'ba. The suggestion seems far-fetched but cannot be ruled out. The variant reading above is shared by the Codex of 'Alī and the Codex of Ibn Mas'ūd.

To both of them is attributed also the reading ٱلْعُمْرَةُ instead of ٱلْعُمْرَةَ in the same passage. That reading would make the translation read thus:

> And perform the Pilgrimage. And the Visitation is to the House..... [1]

Let us not make the substitution of the word *Allāh* here by the word *bayt* too much of a Shī'a operation, for the insertion of the word *al-bayt* in the pasage, in a slightly different way, is to be found in other versions also:

> And perform the Pilgrimage and the Visitation to the House... (See the *Tafsīr* of Al-Ṭabarī, Būlāq edition, Vol. II: 120.)

Let us conclude by saying: The substitute *al-bayt* is offered in the Codices of 'Alī and Ibn Mas'ūd not necessarily to insert a word dear to the Shī'a. However, we can be fairly sure that a Shī'a is always delighted to read the word *al-bayt* used in a good sense anywhere in the Qur'ān.

Among the numerous variants in 'Alī's Codex, the next which is of Shī'a origin is in 26 : 214-216. The standard 'Uthmānic text of the passage is this:

214 وَأَنذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ ٱلْأَقْرَبِينَ ۝

[1] Perhaps meaning: Al-'Umra involves only a circumambulation of the Ka'ba.

215 وَٱخْفِضْ جَنَاحَكَ لِمَنِ ٱتَّبَعَكَ مِنَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ۝

216 فَإِنْ عَصَوْكَ فَقُلْ إِنِّي بَرِيءٌ مِمَّا تَعْمَلُونَ ۝

And warn thy clansmen who are near of kin. And lower thy wing to those of the believers who follow thee; but if they rebel against thee, say, "Verily, I am clear of what ye do..."

In agreement with Ibn Masᶜūd, ᶜAlī's Codex here has the following reading instead of verse 215 and the opening words of 216:

وَهُمْ أَهْلُ بَيْتِكَ مِنَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ۝ فَإِنْ عَصَوْكَ

وَرَهْطُكَ مِنْهُمُ ٱلْمُخْلِصِينَ فَقُلْ ...

The translation of the whole passage will read thus with this addition:

And warn thy clansmen who are near of kin.
And they are the People of thy House, from among believers.
But if they disobey thee and thy people among whom are the pure ones, then say, "Verily, I am clear of what ye do."

The only other interesting variant in ᶜAlī's Codex is a different reading of Sūrah al-ᶜAṣr (No. 103). The ᶜUthmānic reading is this:

وَٱلْعَصْرِ ۝ إِنَّ ٱلْإِنْسَانَ لَفِي خُسْرٍ ۝ إِلَّا ٱلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا

وَعَمِلُوا ٱلصَّالِحَاتِ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِٱلْحَقِّ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِٱلصَّبْرِ ۝

By the age[2]) Verily, man is in loss! Save those who believe and do right, and bid each other be true and bid each other be patient.

ᶜAlī's Codex offers the Sūrah in the following form:

والعصر ونوائب الدهر ۝ إنّ ٱلْإِنْسان لَفِي خسر ۝

وإنه فيه إلى آخر الدّهر ۝

By the age and the misfortunes of time! Verily, man is in loss. And he is in it until the end of time.

Does this rather pessimistic variant reflect the Shīᶜa despair over the turn of history? Or did ᶜAlī actually hear Muhammad on some occasion recite the Sūrah in this form? We cannot easily decide this. The chapter, according to Nöldeke's theories, belongs to the first period of the Prophet's mission (A.D. 612-617). The portrayals of human destiny in that period were, on the whole, grim.

---

[2] Or, By the afternoon!

In all, the Codex of ᶜAlī, as reconstructed by Prof. Jeffery, has a little over ninety cases of variance with the standard ᶜUthmānic redaction. Of these, not more than four suggest Shīᶜa motivation, two more distinctly, (namely, the omission of Sūrah 66 entitled Taḥrīm and the variant for 26 : 215-216) and two rather dubiously, (namely, the variant لِلْبَيْتِ for لِلَّهِ in 2 : 192 and the variant reading for the whole of Sūrah 103).

This fact is indeed amazing at first sight but understandable on closer analysis. It seems that the Shīᶜā found it more effective to attribute the report of pro-ᶜAlī statements of the Qurᵓān to other Companions than to ᶜAlī himself. As Prof. Jeffery observes (op. cit. p. 21), there are readings in favour of Ahl al-Bayt not only in Shīᶜa sources, but also in Sunnī sources. We know that the Sunnī retort to the Shīᶜa disowning of Abū Bakr, ᶜUmar and ᶜUthmān is not by Sunnī disowning of ᶜAlī but by the Sunnī owning of all Companions and pointedly of Muᶜāwiya the persecutor of ᶜAlī's family. The Sunnī Muslims have always vied with the Shīᶜa in showing veneration to ᶜAlī, particularly in poetry. We must also remember that the standard Sunnī formula of prayer includes the words:

اَللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَعَلَى آلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ ۝ وَبَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَعَلَى آلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ ۝

> O God! Confer thy blessings upon Muhammed and the descendants of Muhammad as Thou didst confer blessings on Abraham and Abraham's descendants; Verily, Thou art the Praiseworthy and the Glorious. And send benediction upon Muhammad and the descendants of Muhammad as Thou didst send benediction upon Abraham and Abraham's descendants; Verily, Thou art Praiseworthy and Glorious.

We now turn to the Codex of Ibn Masᶜūd, the codex with the largest number of readings differing from the ᶜUthmānic text. These fill as many as eighty-seven pages (pp. 25-113) of Prof. Jeffery's work,[3] whereas the variants of ᶜAlī's Codex fill only eight pages (pp. 185-192) of the same work. Not all of these variants are of Shīᶜa intention of course; we have seen that ᶜAlī's codex itself has not more than four variances of possibly Shīᶜa intention out of a total of nearly a hundred variants.

---

[3] *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurᵓān*; Brill, Leiden, 1937.

ᶜAbdullah ibn Masᶜūd is reported to have been a very close companion of the Prophet and to have enjoyed great prestige as a traditionist. The following quotation from Prof. Jeffery's work about his codex is worth citing: [4]

> We have no information as to when he began to make his Codex. Apparently he began to collect material during the lifetime of the Prophet and worked it up into Codex form when he was established at Kūfa and was looked to as the authority on Qurᵓānic matters. At any rate we find his Codex in use there and followed by the Kūfans before the official recension was made by ᶜUthmān. When ᶜUthmān sent to Kūfa the official copy of his standard text with orders that all other texts should be burned, Ibn Masᶜūd refused to give up his copy, being indignant that the text established by a young upstart like Zaid b. Thābit should be given preference to his, since he had been a Muslim while Zaid was still in the loins of an unbeliever. [5] There seems to have been considerable difference of opinion in Kūfa over this question of the Codex, some accepting the new text sent by ᶜUthmān, but a great many continuing to hold by the Codex of Ibn Masᶜūd [6]) which by that time had come to be regarded as the Kūfan text. The strength of the position of his Codex in Kūfa is well illustrated by the number of secondary Codices of which some information has come down to us and which followed the text of Ibn Masᶜūd. It was from its vogue in Kūfa that this Codex came to be favoured by Shīᶜa circles, though one is not disposed to accept as genuine all the Shīᶜa readings that are attributed to his Codex, nor indeed those found in Sunnī sources in favour of Ahl al-Bait.

Now we shall examine those variants of his Codex which are either evidently Shīᶜa or at least suggest Shīᶜa intention:

2: 24 in the ᶜUthmānic text reads as follows:

إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَا يَسْتَحْيِى أَنْ يَضْرِبَ مَثَلًا مَا بَعُوضَةً فَمَا فَوْقَهَا فَأَمَّا ٱلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا فَيَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّهُ ٱلْحَقُّ مِنْ رَبِّهِمْ وَأَمَّا ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا فَيَقُولُونَ مَاذَا أَرَادَ ٱللَّهُ بِهَٰذَا مَثَلًا يُضِلُّ بِهِ كَثِيرًا وَيَهْدِى بِهِ كَثِيرًا وَمَا يُضِلُّ بِهِ إِلَّا ٱلْفَاسِقِينَ ۝

> Why, God is not ashamed to set forth a parable of a gnat, or anything beyond; and as for those who believe, they know that it is truth from the Lord; but as for those who disbelieve, they say, "What is it that God means by this parable?" He leads astray by

[4] *op. cit.* pp. 20-21.
[5] Prof. Jeffery has reference here to Ibn abī Dawood.
[6] Prof. Jeffery's footnote: Ibn al-Athīr *Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg) III, 86, 87.

it many and He guides by it many; — but he leads astray only the evildoers.

In Ibn Masᶜūd's Codex the last part of the verse reads thus:

يُضِلُّ بِهِ كَثِيرٌ وَيَهْدِي بِهِ كَثِيرٌ وَمَا يُضِلُّ بِهِ إِلَّا ٱلْفَاسِقُونَ ۝

By it (i.e. the parable) many are misguided and many are guided aright by it, and by it only the evildoers go astray.

The variance aims at avoiding a predestinarian position. The Shīᶜā, with their consciousness of historical wrongs, would not attribute those wrongs to a divine plan in any way and therefore stressed freedom of human will and human responsibility. The reading therefore seems a Shīᶜa reading.

Perhaps a similar desire to see human responsibility stressed is behind the variant in this Codex for a phrase in 2 :34 relating to the story of Adam's creation: The ᶜUthmānic text reads thus:

وَقُلْنَا يَا آدَمُ ٱسْكُنْ أَنْتَ وَزَوْجُكَ ٱلْجَنَّةَ وَكُلَا مِنْهَا رَغَداً حَيْثُ شِئْتُمَا وَلَا تَقْرَبَا هَٰذِهِ ٱلشَّجَرَةَ فَتَكُونَا مِنَ ٱلظَّالِمِينَ ۝ فَأَزَلَّهُمَا ٱلشَّيْطَانُ عَنْهَا فَأَخْرَجَهُمَا مِمَّا كَانَا فِيهِ ....

And we said, "O Adam dwell, thou and thy wife, in Paradise, and eat therefrom amply as you wish; but do not draw near this tree or ye will be of the transgressors." And Satan made them backslide therefrom and drove them out from what they were in...

The Codex of Ibn Masᶜūd has the phrase فَوَسْوَسَ لَهُمَا ٱلشَّيْطَانُ (And Satan suggested evil to them) instead of فَأَزَلَّهُمَا ٱلشَّيْطَانُ (And Satan made them slip). The latter reading of course alleviates the burden of responsibility from Adam and Eve whereas the former reading leaves room for their responsibility.

In the ᶜUthmānic text 2 :42-43 reads as follows:

وَٱسْتَعِينُوا بِٱلصَّبْرِ وَٱلصَّلَوٰةِ وَإِنَّهَا لَكَبِيرَةٌ إِلَّا عَلَى ٱلْخَاشِعِينَ ۝
ٱلَّذِينَ يَظُنُّونَ أَنَّهُمْ مُلَاقُوا رَبِّهِمْ وَأَنَّهُمْ إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ ۝

Seek aid with patience and prayer, though it is a hard thing save for the humble, who think that they will meet their Lord, and that to Him will they return.

The Codex of Ibn Masᶜūd reads ٱلَّذِينَ يَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّهُمْ مُلَاقُوا رَبِّهِمْ (who know that they will meet their Lord) instead of ٱلَّذِينَ يَظُنُّونَ أَنَّهُمْ مُلَاقُوا رَبِّهِمْ The

reading of the Codex makes the verse more rational any way, though in this particular matter the Shīᶜa would specially be unhappy about the lax qualification of the humble and would like to strengthen the qualification by replacing the idea of thinking by the idea of knowing.

The Codex of Ibn Masᶜūd has the following variants in 2 : 192:

أَقِيمُوا instead of أَتِمُّوا.

The Codex also offers وَٱلْعُمْرَةُ إِلَى ٱلْبَيْتِ instead of وَٱلْعُمْرَةُ لِلَّهِ in place of لِلَّهِ. For comments on these variants see the opening of the present instalment of this article.

(To be continued)

Hartford, Connecticut. DAUD RAHBAR

CORRECTIONS: In the article entitled *Relation of Muslim Theology to the Qurᵓān* by the present writer, which appeared in the January, 1961, issue of *The Muslim World,* the following corrections may kindly be made:

page 45, lines 8-9: Read "The third lecture" instead of "The very next lecture."

page 45, line 13: Read "the third lecture" instead of "the second lecture."

page 46, line 20: Read "third lecture" instead of "second lecture."

page 48, line 1: Read "was close to the end of the second century of the Muslim era."

DAUD RAHBAR

HENRY MARTYN INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC STUDIES

The Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies was opened in Lahore in January 1930. But to trace its beginnings we really have to go further back to that period of stirring in the history of the modern missionary endeavor of the Christian Church in which the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 was the outstanding event.

In the following year a Conference of Missionaries to Muslims was held in Lucknow at which the outstanding figure was Dr. S. M. Zwemer. At that time lady workers among Muslims from the West and South of India planned a Union for prayer and work which was established soon afterwards. Although the idea of a wider fellowship had been mooted at Lucknow by the Reverend John Tackle, a New Zealand Baptist Missionary from Bengal, it was not until May, 1912, that he felt he had enough support to realize the dream. In May of that year the Missionaries to Muslims League was inaugurated by the issue of the first number of *News and Notes*. His final encouragement had come from an appeal published in *The Moslem World* (January 1912, p. 107) entitled "What Has Lucknow Done For India?" The writer had acknowledged significant activity in the area of Muslim Evangelism, including the sending out of Indian workers to Arabia and East Africa by Dr. Pennel of the Afghan frontier. But such activities, he claimed, were isolated and hardly known by workers in other parts of the country. A fellowship was required wherein workers among Muslims could be kept informed and banded together in prayer. The modest five-page confidential leaflet which resulted never ceased publication, and in fact eventually became *The Bulletin* of the Henry Martyn School which thus commences its fiftieth year at the present time. It is not only in its publication, however, that the Missionaries to Muslims League can be considered the forerunner of the Henry Martyn School. In that early fellowship summer lectures were organized, pamphlets translated into Urdu and new tracts written. A course of reading was suggested for the study of Islam and the first examination took place in July, 1914, arranged by the League's Examination Committee whose convener was William Goldsack. Specimen evangelistic addresses were published in *News and Notes,* whose main feature continued to be the sharing of items for prayer and praise.

A second area in which we may trace the origins of the work later to be done in association with the Henry Martyn School was that of the Christian Literature for Muslims Committee. As a result of the efforts of Dr. John R. Mott to promote the publication of literature for Muslims this committee was formed in India in 1923 under the secretaryship of Dr. Murray Titus. It was actually the Executive of the National Christian Council Committee on Work among Muslims, Dr. Titus holding this portfolio. For seventeen years Dr. Titus continued

in this work, organizing the publication of Christian literature for Muslims in a dozen languages of India. The office of N.C.C. Secretary for Muslim work lapsed, but the committee on Christian Literature for Muslims continued, becoming a responsibility of the staff of the Henry Martyn School. Though Dr. Titus himself was never a staff member, he was associated with the School from its very beginning, and was certainly the pioneer in the literature work which eventually came under the wing of the School.

A third forerunner of the School itself was the Department of Islamic Studies in the Bareilly Theological Seminary which Mr. John A. Subhan (now Bishop) directed from 1925 until his being called to the staff of the H.M.S. in 1930. This effort was a direct result of the Jerusalem Conference of 1924 which had recommended that a School of Islamic Studies like that in Cairo be established in every major Muslim mission field.

The School itself, however, was the result of suggestions, originally made by the Boards of missionary societies in Britain, which were taken up at a meeting of the National Christian Council of India in Calcutta in November, 1926. By the time of its Lahore meeting in 1928 the N.C.C. was ready with a draft constitution and proposed budget for the projected School. Finally in 1929 the new Commitee of Management appointed the staff. The Reverend L. Bevan Jones, a British Baptist Missionary from Bengal, was invited to be Principal. The Reverend L. E. Browne, an Anglican (S.P.G.) missionary from the staff of Bishop's College, Calcutta, and the Reverend J. A. Subhan completed the faculty. The three objects of the new School were briefly research, training, and literature. Within the first few years each of the original staff had produced significant books in the field of Islamic studies and the H.M.S. series of tracts for women made their first appearance. In the first five years thirty resident students — eight Indians and twenty-two foreign missionaries — completed courses of study ranging from one to six months. According to the 1929 Tentative Statement on Aims and Purposes, "advancing the cause of the evangelization of Muslims throughout the country" was clearly the basis. "Whatever the work and wherever it will be done the primary purpose of this School will always be to use every means to enable the messengers of the Gospel in India to commend Christ acceptably to Muslims." By 1941 a published statement of Aims and Needs said of the School: "It is coming to be increasingly recognized as the centre of prayer, study, thought, planning and fellowship, at the service of workers among Muslims and of the brotherhood of converts from Islam." In other words the School was fulfilling the objects of the original Missionary to Muslims League, in addition to its teaching function. It was also recognized that training others to be evangelists involved taking a share in the work of evangelism itself. "To give practical help to the Church in its task of Evangelism the School is

prepared to arrange for members of the Staff to visit centres throughout India to cooperate in evangelistic work."

In the early years the School suffered financial difficulties and at the beginning of 1938 it had to leave its Lahore premises and occupy property made available by the American Presbyterian Mission in the Himalayan hill station of Landour. Hitherto the main financial responsibilities had been carried by British societies — Methodist, Baptist and Anglican. But the move to Landour, and then in the fall of 1940 to Aligarh, marked the beginning of an increased share by American missions. The spacious property in the Muslim University centre, which the School continued to occupy until very recently, was made available by the American Methodist Church (Women's Division).

It was under the leadership of the Reverend L. Bevan Jones that the School was firmly established, and after eleven very effective years as Principal he was suceeded by Dr. D. M. Donaldson, who had had twenty years of service with the American Presbyterian Mission in Persia. Back in 1934 Dr. L. E. Browne had had to resign because of the health of his wife and his place was taken by the Reverend J. W. Sweetman. The Reverend J. Subhan continued as full-time member of the Staff until his appoinment as Bishop in 1946. As Vice-Chairman of the Board of Management, and as an active participant in the work of the School, Bishop Subhan is thus the only member of the original staff still associated with it. His place as the Indian member of staff was taken by the Reverend K. D. Wilson Anand who has also since that time become a Bishop, in the Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. After Dr. D. M. Donaldson's scholarly leadership as Principal the Reverend H. Spencer was appointed in 1948. A few years earlier Miss I. G. West had met the need for a lady member of staff and she is still active in this capacity.

The record of accomplishment of the School during the period of these teachers is a truly remarkable one. In addition to the providing of study facilities for resident students they were able to maintain a continuous output of writing as a result of research work and, perhaps most significant of all, to keep up year after year a full schedule of extension lectures in summer hill stations and in centres of theological training and evangelistic activity.

Today, thirty years after the founding of the School, it remains as the sole symbol of the concern of the Indian Church for Muslims. There is no longer an N.C.C. Department of Work among Muslims and, with the exception of Tamilnad, Muslim Work committees seem no longer to be functioning. The Christian Literature for Muslims Committee of the N.C.C. Literature Board certainly continues, but the N.C.C. looks to the Henry Martyn Institute to provide the leadership. The Institute is thus more needed than ever in India and indeed in the whole of Asia. Political developments have brought to an end the

Jerusalem and Cairo schools and there is nothing similar further East.

In spite of this increased necessity for its ministry, the years since the Independence of India in 1947 have been a time of crisis for the School. As the churches of the old India, where the need was greatest for evangelists trained in Islamics, are now in Pakistan, they are unable to send their trainees to India. The number of new missionaries coming to the Churches which co-operate with the School has been drastically reduced. It has thus become evident that resident students can no longer be anticipated as in the past. Moreover, after the departure of Mr. Spencer in 1956, the School had real difficulty in obtaining staff. For a greater part of three years Miss West was left entirely alone in the isolated campus at Aligarh. Then came the visit to India, in the Winter of 1958-59, of Dr. Kenneth Cragg who is proving to be the stimulus in Muslim Work which Dr. S. Zwemer was to an earlier generation. After a series of Institutes he met with representative leaders from various parts of India who were interested in Muslim work, and as a result what became known as the Nagpur Proposals were drawn up and accepted by the Board of the Henry Martyn School. Facing the changed circumstances and the continuing needs these envisaged "the reconstitution of the present School as an Institute which no longer seeks to be a residential place of study (except for short periods...) but which is conceived of as a teaching force of personnel, resident where appropriate or convenient, and constantly available for the kind of activity detailed below." On this basis a new constitution was drawn up, and approved in February, 1960, whereby the School was renamed the "Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies." The stated purpose is "to assist the Church to realize and fulfil its evangelistic obligation to Muslims by fostering among Christians an adequate and sympathetic understanding of Islam." To this end eight different types of activity were then listed. The Institute now aims to function through Area Committees, the first of which to be formed, that in South India, is already coordinating very active work in the areas of four Regional Christian Councils. In February, 1959, the Board appointed the Reverend Emmanuel Sadiq to be the Director of the reconstituted Institute, with the present writer as Associate Director, for a period of three years. Miss West, with residence in East Pakistan, is the only other full-time member of the teaching staff, which thus urgently requires to be augmented. Those involved in such a "change" as this may be considered to be breaking with the past. This is very far from the truth however. [1] The Institute is merely seeking to put into practice in the changed circumstances of the present

[1] As part of the new programme effort is being made to expand *The Bulletin* of the Institute into a more substantial Quarterly Journal. The subscription abroad is $ 1.50 per year or 7s. 6d. Readers of *The Muslim World* may have their names put on the mailing list by writing to the Editor at 39, Sarojini Devi Road, Secunderabad, Hyderabad 3, A.P., India.

the principles adopted by the founders of the School thirty years ago. More recently Principal Spencer specifically advocated a number of the emphases which have now been adopted officially.

The Henry Martyn Institute faces a new challenge. It hopes to add to its staff Indian Christians academically qualified for the work of research. But the immediate question is: Will it measure up to the need for a focus in India of the encounter of the Christian Church with contemporary Islam?

Secunderabad, India IAN H. DOUGLAS

(continued from page 162)

destructive consequences to the warring parties, wars that might have been avoided had a will to agreement and reconciliation been present. Perhaps the key word here is the "will." Modern historians involved currently in exploring the minute details of the circumstances that attended the outbreak of the nineteenth-century Civil War in the United States have conjectured that that terrible conflict might not have been necessary, if only certain parties in positions of authority had had the will to agree. But the will was absent.

Undoubtedly more good will between nations is manifest today than this world has even known. Co-operation and mutual helpfulness on a universal scale are unprecedented in the annals of history. Optimism is justifiable. Yet our contemporary situation calls for amendment by persons possessing a will to agree, a faith sufficiently informed and established to support them in their conviction that accord is normal and possible, and a commitment to the ministry of reconciliation.

E. H. D.

BOOK REVIEWS

Independent Iraq, 1932-1958, A Study in Iraqi Politics. By Majid Khadduri. Second Edition. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London. Oxford University Press, 1960. Pages viii, 388, end Map of Iraq and her Neighbours. Price (in U. K. only) 45 s. net; $ 7.20.

The present volume, first issued in 1951 under the same auspices, was favourably reviewed on the pages of this journal by the late Arthur Jeffery, one of the most eminent Arabists and scholars of recent times (cf. *The Muslim World,* Vol. XLIII, No. 4, October 1953, pp. 298-299). To Jeffery's verdict and insight little can be added beyond a speedy note on the permanent value of the new edition. That the first edition has been exhausted, and that it has been deemed necessary to produce a second within the first decade of the life of the book, is in itself sufficient testimony that that book has stood the test of time. Majid Khadduri, an Iraqi by birth and upbringing, and a citizen of the U.S.A. by adoption, writes with the original knowledge and feeling of the East as well as the authority and methodology of Western scholarship.

It is essential to point out that the Second Edition is not a mere reproduction of the First, which had dealt with Iraqi politics from the end of the British Mandate and the admission of Iraq as a full member into the League of Nations in 1932 to the middle of our century. On the contrary, it has been enriched with fresh material and documentary evidence as well as a whole new section in which the genesis of Iraqi politics has been brought up to the year 1958. In elucidating the position from 1951 to 1958, when Iraq became the scene of tremendous political upheavals, the author reviews the attempts made at the economic reconstruction of the country, the oil agreements, the Communist infiltration, and the subsequent breakdown of democratic government. For a dispassionate review of the events, he examined documents and the published memoirs of Arab statesmen. Furthermore, he drew freely upon such unpublished data as he could personally assemble from his own personal interviews with rulers and leading figures who had played an active part in that drama.

The book, on the whole, reflects the violent tenor of Iraqi politics where one coup d'état follows another and the stability of the state is continually shaken by changes of government and even complete régimes. In Appendix II (pp. 370-372), the author enumerates a succession of fifty-nine cabinets between the years 1921 and 1958, sometimes twice or even thrice in the same year. Frequently military violence was employed in moulding the change. The tale here told takes us as far as the threshold of the Qāsim régime after the bloody downfall of the Iraqi monarchy in the summer of 1958. One cannot help saying that it would have enhanced the value of an already valuable book, had the author devoted another supplementary chapter to the momentous events that occurred after that crucial year. It is also regrettable that insufficient space and attention should be allotted to both the Nestorians and the Kurds. Jeffery's remarks about these minority tensions appear to have remained unfulfilled, and this may be the author's policy for the

book. Nevertheless, it is hard to write the story of the early years of Independent Iraq without fuller consideration of the Assyrian affair which the author cites only "in so far as it affected the death of King Faysal" (p. 42 note 1). The importance of the Kurds in present day politics might also have justified a detailed treatment of a still burning minority question. Other items of consequence in external relations such as the Baghdad Pact and the place of Iraq in the Arab Israeli conflict are rather curtly brought forward where more particulars are usually sought by the reader. The five appendices at the end of the book are very useful and interesting. They include the Hāshimi genealogy, the Iraqi Cabinets, a memorandum of Nūri al-Saʿīd, the letter to Hitler from the Mufti of Jerusalem, and the Syrian Iraqi Protocol of May 1941.

The book is indispensable to both the politician of the area and the student of the Middle East in general. It provides us with a clear and orderly picture of a difficult and rather confusing scene. Its arguments are supported by careful documentation and sound judgment. Professor Khadduri and the Institute for International Studies should be highly complemented on the new issue of a book of enduring worth.

Center for Intercultural Studies AZIZ S. ATIYA
University of Utah, Salt Lake City

Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer Manuals in Common Use. By Constance E. Padwick; London: S.P.C.K., 1961; pp. xxx/314. Price 35/—.

"Common Use" is perhaps the key phrase in the unfolding of the *vade mecum* of Muslims, ordinary and unordinary, in the progress of the devotional life through the centuries that have elapsed since men (and women too) turned from the New Testament, and to a less extent from the Old, to the new Faith that sprang from Arabia, with its debt to both of its predecessors in the life of Near Eastern Lands. This is one of those books almost impossible of review, certainly of adequate review. Suffice it to say that it must remain the "classic" on such an intimate subject for the next half-century. This means that it should find its rightful place in the libraries of Theological Colleges on both sides of the Atlantic, for no lecturer can refer to the prayer-life of the Monotheistic world and leave this book unstudied. It goes without saying that missionary training colleges will recommend it as the *vade mecum* for missionary residence in the Muslim world. Gairdner would include it in the essential equipment of every station in that world, thankful for the mantle of devoted scholarship that fell from his shoulders onto those of Constance Padwick.

Those of us who were privileged to hear at times the results of the early researches into this tremendous area — with its geographical outreach and historical perspective — when "Paddy" had her office in the Newman School of Missions in Jerusalem, can only be thankful for the harvest of persistence, and gifted endeavor. The readers of the *Muslim World* will not be surprised at the expert guiding of the author, but it will be *on them* to introduce others to the understanding of "the heights of devotion to which the Muslim can attain." Only

recently was the reviewer told by a well-read Christian that he had no idea of the place of Jesus Christ in the Islamic system. What will such a one say to an even more unanticipated area of research into those things most surely believed by others.

Here is scholarship, careful and detailed, as the reader is introduced to the contents, sifted and digested, of 109 prayer manuals and again as many excerpts from brief tractates. The references are given after the quotations (thus obviating the need for later notes or tiresome indexes). There is obvious scrutiny in the choice of extracts from the *awrād* or from the Traditions. (The Arabic words and names or phrases required constitute a triumph of transliterated printing). Of course there is sympathy, whether making itself felt in the niceties of rendering or in the comparison of Christian thinking or expression (to a considerably less extent Hebrew). Readers will be grateful for the introduction of the study of comparative religion from this angle. There are words familiar to the missionary in North Africa or Western Asia, and such will be thankful for the paragraphs on *Baraka* or the varied terms for the exercise of the "Prayer Life," terms more available for use in Christian Worship now that the Muslim implication is better understood. The heart of the book lies in Part Three, with its analysis of "Worship" in all its variegated range from the praise for transcendence and of thankfulness — where there is some definite affinity with the Psalms of Qumrān — to the worship of Penitence and Petition. Though there is nothing to skip in this book (the General Index of people and subjects is very well done), there are sections that will make their appeal to non-Muslims in personal, or corporate, devotion; the chapters on "The Saints in Worship" and "Answers to Prayer" will reward the concern of many for the place in the economy of God for those who have gone behind the veil or the company of persistent intercessors. Muslims and Christians and Jews alike may be more aware than each other knows of the crumbling of the walls between this and the other world. Perhaps this is enough to press the words of Constance Padwick on the attention of Muslim and Christian scholars — that it is "high time that both ... undertook a scientific study not only of what might be called liturgiology, the history of the official devotions of Islam, but of its devotional literature in general." The mantle in this quest will descend not to part the waters hither and thither but perchance to mingle them in a common stream. The story on page 95 in the chapter on "The Name in Worship" may have pertinence here — and suggest possibility.

Redhill, Surrey, England ERIC F. F. BISHOP

Ince Memed. By Yasar Kemal; Remzi Kitabevi, Istanbul, 1960.

Heralded by critics as one of the most significant novels to come out of Turkey in many years, *Ince Memed,* a novel by Yasar Kemal, 39-year-old Turkish novelist, not only tells in compelling prose a tale of dramatic impact, but also gives a significant clue to what can be expected from the post-Revolutionary generation of Turkish writers.

Yasar Kemal is distinct among the present Turkish writers because he "was not born to the pen," that is, he was born outside of urban and intellectual circles. He is a product of the Turkish rural schools and the social forces that are slowly bringing new insights and social horizens to the Turkish villages.

Kemal was born in 1922 in the rather poor southern Turkish village of Hemite. Hemite is located near the Taurus mountains, north of Adana. Following the liberating pattern that post-Revolutionary life unleased for the Turkish villager, Yasar, after attending primary school in his village and learning to read, continued his own education, while at the same time travelling all over Turkey and working at various trades.

In 1951 he was employed by the *Cumhuriyet,* highly respected Turkish newspaper, and began to make a name for himself by writing some of the most revealing feature stories on rural life in Turkey. These articles won him a Turkish literary prize. He continues today in his position with *Cumhuriyet.*

Ince Memed is a lusty yarn about a mountain "Robin Hood" who combines daring and manly virtues, dear to the Turkish *mythos,* with an acute sense of justice and revolutionary zeal, vital factors in the current Ataturkian Kemalistic dogmas. But these ingredients are not enough to make Kemal outstanding among current Turkish writers — for the book stalls in Turkey are filled with lusty stories of manly acts of daring, spiced with Kemalistic morals. The uniqueness lies in the transformation that Kemal has wrought in Turkish prose. His pen moves clearly and gravely in straightforward Turkish. The self-conscious "flower-scented" style, as well as the pseudo-Hemingway realism of other Turkish authors, is missing.

Already UNESCO has taken *Ince Memed* into its multi-language translation projects, and French and English editions are scheduled to come off the press very soon. Chinese and Russian translations are reported already to be on the market. Meanwhile, proud Turkish critics are talking about an eventual Nobel prize for young Kemal.

Maywood, Illinois JOHN A. KINGSBURY

Fez in the Age of the Marinides. By Roger Le Tourneau. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press; 1961, pp. 158, $ 2.75. Translation from the French by Besse Alberta Clement.

North Africa. By Lorna Hahn. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C. 1960, pp. 264, $ 6.00.

Though in recent times Fez has been surpassed, economically, by Casablanca, and, in matters political and administrative, by Rabat, the ancient capital has remained the Maghrib's most fascinating city, one, moreover, that has preserved its past architecture and culture more completely than has any other Western city. An authoritative book on Fez has long been overdue, and Professor Le Tourneau deserves our debt for having attempted to produce such a book. However he has limited himself to the Marinide period in the fourteenth century, and he has kept his imagination so much in check that his book deprives

Fez of most of the attributes of poetry and beauty that are its birthright. Yet, though brief, his book provides much useful information, is accurate, and abides by the standards of sound scholarship.

The same cannot be said about the much larger book: *North Africa,* by Lorna Hahn. Yet a book in this subject is badly needed. Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia have been constantly in the news for the last ten years, and the Maghrib plays a part of utmost moment in world relations and within the context of inter-Arab and inter-African affairs. Miss Hahn deals with Maghribi nationalism in some detail, and she has evidently taken trouble to unravel the complexities of the relevant developments. What, however, is required is a book that can be of use to the serious student, that is, a book whose facts and data need not be questioned. Though the author is undoubtedly on the side of the angels and succeeds in being objective, these virtues are out-balanced by an utter disregard of the demands of elementary scholarship. She never gives her sources; quotes from other books, sometimes almost verbatim, without a word of acknowledgment; provides no footnotes, but a useless index from which a large number of names mentioned in the text are omitted. The writing is slapdash, often of questionable syntax.

The chief weakness of this book, however, exists in its plethora of misstatements and wrong spellings which, together, render the book useless to the scholar. For these errors suggest not mere carelessness but ignorance of even elementary Arab and Maghribi history and even of well-known French politicians of today. Out of a countless number of errors the following might be cited: the date of the Prophet's death is given as 642; the name Alaouite is spelt throughout as Alouite; the first Sharifian dynasty was not the Saadien but the Idrīsī, some eight hundred years earlier; Ahmad al-Mansur was not an Alaouite but a Saadien; the great Ismāʿīl lived not in the sixteenth but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; it was not he who conquered Mauritania; Tunisia is not *west* of Algeria; the Grand Vizier Mokhri could not have been 111 years old in 1959 (when, anyhow, he was dead) if, in 1955, he is said to be 110; in 1958 there were not 1.2 million Moroccan children at school but only half that number; Allal al-Fassi reached New York, in 1952, not before but after Balafrej who, incidentally, was not Prime Minister in 1956 but only in 1958. The page on which the latter error is made contains almost a dozen errors of fact. From the flood of wrong spellings the following might be mentioned as typical: Plevan for Pleven, Naegelan for Naegelen, Pauax for Puaux, Du Bois for Dubois, Guillon for Guillaume, Lyazadi for Lyazidi, Karouane (for both the city of Kairouan and the Karaouine University), Pascha for Pasha. After such an orgy of misstatements mere typing errors, whose gallaxy embellishes practically each page, come almost as a relief. It seems surprising that the publishers of a book on so important a subject and containing some useful information that is accurate should not have taken the trouble to submit the text to an expert, at least one on spelling.

University of the Pacific
Stockton, California

ROM LANDAU

Succession to the Rule in Islam. By Anwar G. Chejne; Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, 1960; pp. 154. Rs. 6.

Dr. Chejne presented this work as a doctoral dissertation which was accepted by the Group Committee of the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Pennsylvania in 1954. He draws attention to the fact that Tyan's work on *Le Califat* (Paris, 1954) was published after his dissertation was accepted and notes that it deals with most of the topics he has discussed. He has, however, quite properly published this useful work which is the result of his own careful research, and he has included a number of references to Tyan's work. The more detailed part of this study deals with the methods which governed succession among the ᶜAbbāsids up to al-Muᶜtaḍid who became Caliph in 279/892, but some account is also given of the methods of succession from the time of Abū Bakr. This is preceded by a brief discussion of Sassanian and Byzantine practice, and there are chapters on theoretical discussions (in which much attention is paid to al-Māwardī), and on the dynastic claims of the ᶜAbbāsids both before their accession and during the early years of their rule. An important feature of this book is the translation of the actual documents nominating successors to Caliphs. The chief historical sources on which reliance is laid are Yaᶜqūbī and Ṭabarī both of whom, the author is convinced, relied upon a highly authentic tradition. A large bibliography is supplied containing the titles of many Arabic and Western books which have been consulted. The author has dealt with his subject in a scholarly manner with full documentation.

Glasgow JAMES ROBSON

CORRIGENDUM

S. Muhammad Tufail, Imam, Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England, has kindly informed me that in my April article ("The Apologetic Approach of Muhammad Ali and Its Implications for Christian Apologetics"), the quotations corresponding to notes 7-9 (p. 112) and the book titles *My Life — A Fragment* (Lahore, 1942) and *Select Letters and Speeches* (Lahore, 1944) should properly be applied to the Khilafat leader Maulana Muhammad Ali (1878-1931), and not to the Maulana Muhammad Ali (1875-1951) who wrote *The Religion of Islam* and translated the Qurʾān. However, as Imam Tufail points out in his letter of 19 April, the Khilafatist Muhammad Ali "knew the Maulana Muhammad Ali of Lahore well and was a great admirer of the translation of the Qurʾān done by him." Readers are referred to Tufail's obituary of the author of *The Religion of Islam* which appeared in the *Islamic Review* for December, 1951.

Waterloo Lutheran University JOHN WARWICK MONTGOMERY
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada

SHORTER NOTICES

Pan-Arabism and Labor. By Willard A. Beling; Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1960; pp. x, 127. (Harvard Middle Eastern Monograph Series, No. 4).

The pan-Arab labor movement is "pan-Arabism in the working classes of the Arab World." Its organized form is known as the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU), founded in Damascus on March 24, 1956. The monograph attempts to "examine both the challenges which brought the ICATU into existence and the character of the pan-labor movement itself as it has begun to develop." The project was financed partly by the Ford Foundation, and several eminent American labor economists took part in this research. English, French and Arabic sources have been used to document the study.

Le Mariage et sa Dissolution dans le Statut Civil Local Algérien. By Jules Roussier, 1 rue Élisée Reclus, Algiers, 1960; pp. 124, paper.

Traditional laws of Islam regarding marriage and divorce are becoming increasingly incompatible with the requirements of modern society with its economic development and emancipation of women. To revise the religious law without doing violence to Scripture is almost impossible. Nevertheless, in Muslim lands, means are being found to effect more appropriate legislation in harmony with modernistic trends. In Algeria, similarly, new laws were promulgated in 1959 concerning marriage and divorce. These are of particular concern to the Muslim population. This booklet contains the relevant texts of the new laws which obviously have for object to extend and protect the rights of women and guarantee family stability. The texts are followed by a short exposition of the relevant traditional Muslim legal stipulations. The major portion of the work is devoted to a critical explanation and interpretation of the application of the new laws. Care has been taken, as the conclusion states, to avoid injury to revered traditions of long standing and hostility to a deeply-rooted faith.

The Priority of the Holy Spirit in Christian Witness, By Alexander McLeish; World Dominion Press, 59 Bryanston St., London; 1960; pp. 15; Price 1s.

Food in abundance for reflection is contained in this first number of a new pamphlet series. Especially stimulating should it be to thinking on missionary policy, for it is focused on the theme of the rôle of the Holy Spirit in Church growth. The author takes up Roland Allen's writings on this point, which were later developed by Dr. D. A. McGavran in his *The Bridges of God,* but dwells particularly on Dr. H. R. Boer's *Pentecost and the Missionary Witness of the Church,* an Amsterdam Free University thesis which was published by Lutterworth Press, London. To Dr. Boer the full import of the Holy Spirit in relation to missionary endeavor has not yet been fully grasped.

Prayer. By Samuel M. Zwemer; American Tract Society, 513 W. 166th St., New York, 1959 (second printing); pp. 30. Price $ 30.

The manuscript for this booklet was prepared by the late Dr. Samuel

M. Zwemer a short time before his death in 1952 and published in that same year. It is believed to be his last work. After a study of the psychology of prayer, the author explains where and how to pray and writes on its extraordinary efficacy. The final chapter is on the Lord's Prayer. Dr. Zwemer's usual persuasiveness characterizes this booklet; after all he writes from experience. It is Christian; yet its appeal is universal.

La Pensée Arabe. By Henri Sérouya; Presses Universitaires de France, 108 Bvd. Saint-Germain, Paris, 1960; pp. 127, paper.

The author proposes to analyse the "Arab soul." He situates the Arab in the "Semitic race," and advances the idea that "only the Arab people has been able to preserve the authentic characteristic of the race" (p. 14). The Arab's language, food, clothes, music, poetry, architecture, sculpture, social life and political organization are made to contribute to the thesis of Arab particularity. A chapter is devoted to a brief exposition of Islam, its background and early development, its Scriptures, the Prophet's religious temperament, the post-Muhammadan flowering of Islam in theology and philosophy. A section on philosophical development includes the Muᶜtazilites, scholastic theologians, schools of jurisprudence and al-Ashᶜari. The philosophers of Islam from al-Kindi to Ibn Rushd receive cursory treatment. The author's interpretation is on the whole in conformity with the results of modern scholarship though debatable points may be raised. Little of an original nature is brought forward; reliance is placed on secondary sources. Yet for the uninitiated and uncritical this summary presentation of Islam commends itself by its sympathetic attitude and is useful for those who desire a rapid survey.

The Pressure of Our Common Calling By W. A. Visser 't Hooft; Doubleday & Company, Garden City, New York, 1959; pp. 91, $2.50.

Doctor W. A. Visser't Hooft, clergyman of the Netherlands Reformed Church and General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, draws upon his long experience in the cooperative enterprises of the Church to produce one more book to remind Christians of their inherent unity and to call them to perfect that unity. The meaning of unity must be perceived in its theological perspective. "We need such a theology of the ecumenical movement because a Christian movement without a theology is like a ship without a rudder" (p. 14). This unity, he points out, is a process of growth. It is never static. But what are the conditions of growth? The Church does not realize it by seeking its own ends. "Unity grows," writes the author, "when and where the Church puts itself wholly at His disposal. Unity is weakened when and where the Church seeks its own ends and the parts do not 'work properly' (Eph. 4 : 16), that is, where they do not fulfill their God-given calling" (p. 26). The writer then proceeds to elaborate on the calling to witness, the calling to service, the calling to fellowship in Christ, and the calling to unity in Christ. In ninety-one pages of fundamental thinking on these themes the reader is led into a re-study of his own conception of the fellowship (*koinonia*) in which he participates and whose cause he seeks to strengthen. The approach is Scriptural.

Indeed the work is admirably suited to the needs of study groups whose interests lie in missions or the world work of the Church in its divergent forms and among its various confessions.

Fatima and Her Sisters. By Dorothy Van Ess; the John Day Company, 62 W. 45th Street, New York, 1961; pp. 187, illustrations. Price $ 4.00.

In weaving a wealth of material around the lives of Fatima and her sisters the author has drawn upon fifty years of experience in the changing culture of Iraq.

The book is not fiction, although it reads almost as such because of the writer's skill in sorting and arranging her facts. Serving under the Arabian Mission of the Reformed Church in America, she directed a school for girls in Basrah where her husband was director of a school for boys.

Innumerable opportunities made it possible for Mrs. Van Ess, now retired, to enter the fellowship of Muslim women and girls in their homes and to witness at first hand their daily routine as well as many festive celebrations.

Over the years a broad scope of contacts with persons of wealth, and those without, has enabled the author to write effectively with interesting detail and sensitive interpretation of the Iraqi people in general and of Fatima and her sisters in particular.

Marriage Commission Report X-Rayed Edited by Khurshid Ahmad; Chiragh-E-Rah Publications, Karachi, 1959; pp. xv, 315. Price Rs. 10/—, 21s.

The editor, Khurshid Ahmad, translator of Abū'l-Aʿlā Maudūdī's *Toward Understanding Islam,* presents in this work on the "Report of the Commission on Marriage and Family Laws," published in Pakistan on June 20, 1956, the text of the report together with comments from partisans of both sides of the controversial issue. The positions of the two divergent camps, that is, that of the "renascent forces of Islam" and that of the defenders of the "modernist" trend, are sounded by Maudūdi and four other contributors of like persuasion.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Ignace Goldziher library in Jerusalem. The Reverend F. F. Bishop, of Redhill, Surrey, England, has offered the following welcome bit of information relative to the Goldziher collection.

Perhaps this footnote may be allowed to Professor de Somogyi's article, "Reminiscences of Ignace Goldziher." On page twelve of the January, 1961, number of the *Muslim World* the Professor alludes to the valuable possession of the Goldziher library by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. It was during the long "strike" in 1936 that the great Lebanese-American poet, Amīn Riḥānī, paid a flying visit to Jerusalem. There was a notice of his expected arrival in the local press. This was seen by the President of the Hebrew University, Judah Magnes, who telephoned to inquire if a meeting could be arranged for him with Amīn. It was arranged and, a few hours before he left, Magnes and Riḥānī met in the former's office on the roof of the University Library. They had much in common and the President showed the poet a complete collection of "Riḥānī" in the original and translated versions. We then went down to see the University's collection of *Arabica* and *Islamica.* Amīn noticed a plaque in Hebrew, of which he asked for a translation, since he did not know Hebrew. He was told it said that the foundation of the University's collection was the library that Goldziher himself possessed in Hungary. Its presence in Jerusalem was due to the generosity of friends. Riḥānī's immediate reaction was, "Why do you not have this in Arabic too? There is no Arabic scholar in the world, Muslim or Christian, who does not revere the name of Goldziher."

Here is surely an underlying of phrases in Dr. de Somogyi's article (bottom of page 10 and top of page 15). Perhaps there are hundreds more to echo the Professor's words "in praise of Ignace Goldziher." Goldziher, Magnes, Riḥānī, de Somogyi — *O Si Sic Omnes.*

Christian-Muslim Cooperation. Through the information bulletin of his country, Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal, recently made an appeal for peace in the minds and hearts of his people. He urged cooperation among believers, particularly Muslims and Christians. The summons, coming as it does from the Senegal, has special significance. *Revue de Presse* (Algiers) considered it relevant to the North African situation and included it in the November, 1960, issue from which the following excerpts were taken.

The weakness of peoples emerging from colonialism into a free state lies in the temptations of both materialism and corruption. The tendency is to forget that the higher standard of living associated with socialism is but a stepping stone to a higher culture and a strengthening of spiritual forces.

Christian countries of the West have succumbed to the point of becoming de-Christianized under the impact of both capitalism and socialistic atheism. It is possible for Muslims and Christians to be mutually helpful by reminding one another of their spiritual resources.

While raising the standard of living, European socialism has neg-

lected the cultural level, substituting an accumulation of knowledge for a pattern of life and ignoring the fact that man should learn to live in harmony with God.

Both Islam and Christianity have resources for reclaiming modern materialistic civilization. Philosophers and poets of the 20th century point up the issue by turning man's attention to the Middle East, cradle of both Islam and Christianity. They also call attention to the importance of spiritual values without which man is but a refined animal. For civilization to achieve more than technical perfection, it is incumbent on all believers, and especially upon Christians and Muslims, to make a concerted effort to this end.

Furthermore, political reasons make cooperative efforts increasingly urgent for the new African communities. Governing a people calls for the highest order of human wisdom. Cultural independence is a prerequisite for political independence. Religion is the greatest aspect of culture, and no nation is worthy of the name which is not bound together by common ties of intent and spirit.

The Gospel says, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and the rest will be added unto you." The Qurʾān declares that God will not better a people's lot before they improve their soul. There can be no will to live together without religious tolerance and racial brotherhood.

Since Africans today are rapidly becoming Muslim or Christian, animism is disappearing. This is significant in a society where religions sever states and families. Cooperation between religions becomes imperative for vital national life. It is written in the Gospel that a house divided against itself cannot stand.

European states were weakened as a result of religious wars between Catholics and Protestants. Fortunately African states, Senegal included, have understood the danger. They realize that their way leads along the path of religion. Religious leaders are aware of their rôle in working for cooperation as a basic principle in the new state. May peace come to Africa, continent of good-will, for without peace there is neither nation nor civilization.

E.M.D.

Dedication of "Mosque of the Faithful" in Gary, Indiana. On August 14, 1960, a new "Mosque of the Faithful" was dedicated in Gary, Indiana. The cornerstone had been laid a year before by a Lebanese contractor, Sam Hamod, through whose generosity and hard work the dedication was made possible. More than 800 persons attended the dedication, including UAR consular officials, USI personnel, imams from several American and Near Eastern mosques, the Mayor of Gary and other dignitaries representing both Christian and Muslim organizations. It is estimated that the mosque budget is about $ 800 a month.

The building is of Indiana limestone with imported Italian window glass. The domes are quite distinct at the corner of 11th. and Wallace. The Prayer Room is most spacious with an almost full rug, pulpit and bronze lights. Both floors are provided with a public address system. The Prayer Room is almost twice the size of that in Toledo. A gift

pulpit is availed from the Near East. The cost of the Mosque was about $ 100,000, but at dedication date the debt was less than $ 29,000.

The social and education rooms downstairs are spacious, including dressing rooms, well-equipped lavatories (the men's has a full shower and an ablution trough, as well as the standard equipment), utilitarian kitchen. The social room, which can be entered from the side as well as from the upper front entrance, contains a raised platform in the S.E. corner for musicians and leaders. An unfinished office upstairs is for the imam when one is found.

Mr. Hamod notes that the men themselves volunteer their services as imam. Because there are so many nationality groups among the 500 Muslims of Gary, they were not yet ready to request an Egyptian imam. (Last year Egyptian imams were sent to Toledo, Dearborn, Cedar Falls and others as reported in the January, 1960, *Muslim World.* These men are not to do much work outside the Mosque for at least two years.)

Arabic services are held every Friday evening. A Sunday School with fifty pupils under two teachers meets regularly. In addition to Muslim theology and ritual, the children are also taught Arabic. Tours for Orthodox and Protestant groups have been encouraged.

As always, this correspondent was affectionately and graciously received by the Muslim host in Gary, with only the name of James Kalil, International Federation President from Dearborn, as the open sesame. Mr. Kalil was re-elected last summer at the Convention. This year the Convention meets in July in Cairo upon invitation of Mr. ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir.

C. Umhau Wolf

Contribution of the late Rabbi Haim Nahum in Egypt. An Associated Press dispatch from Cairo, published in the *New York Times* of Nov. 14, 1960, reported the death the day before of Haim Nahum, Chief Rabbi of the Jewish Community in Egypt, at the age of 88. Born in Turkey, and educated there and in France, he spent some years teaching in Istanbul, then was made Chief Rabbi in the Ottoman Empire in 1908. After World War I he moved to Egypt, the former Ottoman province, and became Chief Rabbi there in 1924. Rabbi Nahum was recognized as a scholar by his fellow citizens, and was one of four non-Muslim members of the Academy for the Arabic Language in Cairo. He had been blind since 1938 but was an expert in many aspects of Near Eastern history, religion, and culture.

Haim Nahum was not a Zionist. The *Times* briefly notes this fact but the significance of it is missed. After the 1952 Revolution in Egypt certain social and economic reforms were put into effect along with the change in government from a monarchy to a republic. As an expression of popular support for these steps and a demonstration of basic social solidarity, Rabbi Nahum appeared with leaders of the other religious communities at public functions. Photographs of these leaders together would then be published with captions explaining the occasion. Nahum had made it clear before the Israel war that Egyptian Jews would be loyal to Egypt. The Zionist line of propaganda, to the effect

that all Jews should serve the new Israel, and the seizure of Arab-owned properties in Palestine by the "de facto" Zionist government were causes which drove many Egyptian Muslims, especially from 1947 to 1949, to treat Jews and foreigners alike as probable Zionist "Fifth-Columns." In spite of the violence by terrorists and the persecution on all sides, Nahum and other Jewish leaders in Egypt declared "that there never has been in the past, and never will be in the future, any permanent ill-treatment of Jews in Egypt, that recent events are due entirely to public agitation over Palestine, and will be merely an unhappy memory once the Palestine question has been settled peacefully one way or the other." (S. Landshut, *Jewish Communities in the Muslim Countries of the Middle East,* London, 1950, p. 38.) But foreign Zionists have been inclined to shelve this testimony and ask, "What are the facts?" (*Loc. cit.*) Since he was not a Zionist, it is reasonable to believe that this was the reason that the Egyptian government trusted him to lead his community in loyal citizenship. Haim Nahum sought to promote those normal human relationships that fair-minded Muslims, Jews, and Christians all desired to exist in Egyptian society.

J.W.P.

Sports in Tunisia. The following excerpts from a speech by President Bourguiba of Tunisia on sports (Oct. 3, 1960) are taken from the *Revue de Presse,* Algiers, October, 1960.

In pre-Islamic days as well as those of the early Islamic period, Arabs participated in athletic sports, horseback riding, fencing, wresling and racing.

The loss of freedom to engage in physical sports followed the rise of mystical beliefs in Muslim thought. With an emphasis on ecstasy and the merging of human personality with the divine, the human body became an object of degradation associated with neglect and dirt to which it ultimately returned.

In addition to this, the religious teachers (*ʿulamāʾ*) inculcated strict ideas about avoiding public exposure of the shoulders, chest and thighs. The death knell for sports was sounded. It is useful to mention that these same *ʿulamāʾ* might well be challenged for disregarding their own injunctions for they also appear on the streets with head and chest bare.

The concept which scorns the body and treats it with indifference should be banished. In its place the respect which the Greeks and pre-Islamic Arabs held for the body should be revived in order that the physical being may fulfill its rôle more adequately.

Although Tunisia does not lead in international sports, it is important that the country as a whole be enthusiastic about sports and vitally interested in them. As a result, more Tunisians who need the benefits of physical culture will profit rather than a few selected athletes who wear achievement medals for the glory of Tunisia.

Experiments have proved that both laborer and office worker produce more effective results when given a half hour daily for sports. The eight-hour day in Tunisia has been reduced to seven in order that working-men may have time for recreation through organized games

and group singing. In China, 600 million Chinese are reported to stop work at ten o'clock in the morning to go through identical gymnastic exercises.

Industries employing fifteen, twenty or more workmen would do well to allow for a quarter-of-an-hour break for their employees. Production results would improve and the national economy stand to benefit. It is an important aspect to be considered in the undeveloped state and one to be encouraged in the light of national progress and prosperity.

E. M. D.

Christian Center for North African Studies. The Christian Center for North African Studies, under the auspices of the French Reformed and Methodist Churches in Algeria, was inaugurated January 15, 1961, in El-Biar, Algiers.

The result of long-range planning, the Center is an inter-church, inter-mission undertaking currently supported by the above-mentioned churches. Assistance is anticipated from the Paris Missionary Society as well as cooperation from the Near East Christian Council.

The Reverend Willy N. Heggoy, Ph. D., director of the Center, is scheduled to give lectures on Significant Events in the History of North Africain Islam and The Muslim Woman in Classical and Modern Islam. The study program provides a seminar on Muslim-Christian relationships in history and the contemporary situation. Short courses pertinent to area needs are offered in the cities of Constantine and Algiers. A beginning course in Algerian Arabic is also given.

Interest manifested in the Study Center and the registration of students for the courses encourage one to believe that it will effectively help both missionaries and pastors as well as laymen to understand better the complex situation of North Africa.

The headquarters for the Christian Center for North African Studies are located at "La Palmeraie," 78 chemin Beaurepaire, El-Biar, Algiers, Algeria.

E.M.D.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

I. GENERAL

A PROPOS DU CONGRÈS ISLAMIQUE À JÉRUSALEM. Simon Jargy. *Orient,* Paris, 1960, part 1, pp. 19-29. Describes the previous congresses and the present unproductive one.

AL-JĀḤIẒ AND AD-DAMĪRI. Joseph De Somogyi. *Leeds University Oriental Society Annual,* 1958-1959, Leeds, England, 1959, pp. 55-60. Tells of two amazing Encyclopaedias of Zoology which not only list and describe hundreds of animals known to the authors, one of whom died in 869 and the other in 1405, but provide a great amount of animal psychology.

CONNAISSANCE BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE DE L'ISLAM. Henri Michaud. *Église et Théologie,* Paris, Décembre, 1960, pp. 33-43. A super-selective annotated list of works on Islam which have appeared during the past fifteen years and which, in the author's opinion, are notably worth-while.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, Autumn, 1960, pp. 433-455. Covers June 16, 1960 to September 15, 1960 and contains a tribute to Harry St. John B. Philby, who died September 30, 1960, in Beirut at the age of seventy-five.

L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA LANGUE ET DE LA LITTÉRATURE ARABES AU XXe SIÈCLE. Mouhammad Khalafallah. *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale,* Neuchatel, 1960, part 1, pp. 122-157. A well-documented study looking forward to the time when all classes of people in Arab countries will speak a common language.

THE INDEFINABLE MIDDLE EAST. Rhoda L. Heinecke. *Geographical Review,* N.Y., July, 1960, pp. 437-438. Discusses the Near East — Middle East nomenclature problem.

THE MUSLIM REPUBLICS OF THE U.S.S.R. Ann Shukman. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London, July-October, 1960, pp. 193-205. The sixth in a series of reviews of Soviet literature in the area. This section deals with descriptive pamphlets and even includes material on "Borderlands" such as Persia and China.

QUINZE JOURS AU KIBBOUTZ. Louis Barjon. *Études,* Paris, Décembre, 1960, pp. 337-351. Impressions received in Israel at Gevoulet, one of the places where the miracle of the creation of a civilization from nothing goes on constantly.

SANCTUAIRES CHRÉTIENS DE JÉRUSALEM À L'ÉPOQUE ARABE. J. T. Malik. *Revue Biblique,* Paris, Juillet, 1960, pp. 354-367. Part of a series of articles called "Notes d'Epigraphie et de Topographie Palestiniennes."

THE SCIENCE OF MUSIC IN THE "MAFĀTĪḤ AL-ᶜULŪM." Henry George Farmer. Glasgow University Oriental Society, *Transactions,* Hertford, 1959, pp. 1-9. Describes the encyclopaedia written during the years 976-991 by Abū ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf

al-Kātib al-Khwārizmī describing the musical instruments of the time and the current rhythms.

Un type de lettré tunisien du XIVe siècle. A. Demeerseman. *I.B.L.A.*, Tunis, 1960, part 1, pp. 51-76. Concludes a study of the great 14th. century writer, Tijānī, who contributed much on linguistics and on the religious and social life of his day.

The use of history by modern Arab writers. Anwar G. Chejne. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, Autumn, 1960, pp. 382-396. The nationalistic awakening in the past twenty-five to thirty years has caused "history to be approached with a definite orientation for improving the present and setting firm foundations for the future."

The Valley of the Assassins. P. R. E. Willey. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, April, 1960, pp. 147-151. Describes the Rock of Alamut and the Castle of Lammasar.

Where is the Middle East? Roderic H. Davison. *Foreign Affairs*, New York, July. 1960, pp. 665-675. Traces the derivations of the word "Middle East," admits that it is puzzling to some, and suggests that it be stabilized and geographically limited.

II. ARABIA

Arabian extremities. Air Vice-Marshal M. L. Heath. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London, July-October, 1961, pp. 260-269. Describes conditions in the fringe states of Saudi Arabia and tells how radio propaganda from Cairo, Damascus and Sana does its utmost to provoke unrest and militate against Britain.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

L'évolution des techniques dans le monde musulman au Moyen Age. G. Wiet, V. Elisséeff, Ph. Wolff. *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, Neuchatel, 1960, part 1, pp. 15-44. A detailed study covering a wide selection of subjects such as arms, ceramics, textiles, coinage, jewelry, etc.

Here and there in the Muslim World. H. J. Otten. *The Bulletin of the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies*, Secunderabad, India. October-December, 1960, pp. 30-44. Furnishes much statistical and general information about conditions in the South Philippine Islands and appends a "suggested plan of action for work among Moros" by the author.

Ibn ʿIdhārī's account of the Party Kings. D. M. Dunlap. Glasgow University Oriental Society, *Transactions*, Hertford, 1959, pp. 19-28. A discussion of material to be found in the "Mulūk at-ṭawāʾif" about the rulers in Muslim Spain after the complete downfall of the Caliphate, 1031-'45.

IV. QURʾĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

Daēnā, le pont Činvat et l'initiation dans le Mazdéisme. M. Molé. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris, Avril-Juin, 1960, pp.

155-185. Describes the rites practiced by the Sassanides which greatly resembled the present-day Parsee initiations.

ÉTUDES SUR QUELQUES TEXTES SOGDIENS CHRÉTIENS. E. Benveniste. *Journal Asiatique,* Paris, 1959, part 1, pp. 115-136. Continues an article begun in the Journal for 1955, pages 297-339.

THE MUSLIM DOCTRINE OF SALVATION. The Rev. R. E. Miller. *The Bulletin of the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies,* Secunderabad, India, October-December, 1960, pp. 10-27. The fourth and final part of a study on salvation — this section dealing with the Doctrine of Faith and Works; Intercession; and the Mystical Way.

LA PRIÈRE SELON LE CORAN. Père André d'Alverny, S. J. *Proche Orient Chrétien,* Jérusalem, Juillet-Septembre, 1960, pp. 212-226. Dealing with personal prayer, this article is the first installment of a longer study.

LE QARAMATISME. Mustapha Farsi. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis, 1960, part 1, pp. 7-50. An introduction and annotated translation of an extract from Ṭabarī on the beginning of this movement.

THE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN EARLY ISLAM. Afzal Iqbal. *The Islamic Review,* Woking, October, 1960, pp. 13-16. The first section of a study of the exegesis of the Koran. This part discusses the Hadith.

SHĪ'ISM UNDER THE UMAYYADS. W. Montgomery. Watt. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London, 1960, part 3-4, pp. 158-172. A quiet period occurred when both Aramaean and Persian *mawālī* were united with Yemenite Arabs.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

À PROPOS DU JEUNE DU MOIS DE RAMAḌĀN EN TUNISIE. Francis Hours. *Orient,* Paris, 1960, part 1, pp. 43-52. Points out the motives and possible consequences of President Bourguiba's lessening the disciplines of Ramaḍān.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENT IN AZERBAIJAN. Seyyed Hassan Taqizadeh, translated by N. R. Keddie. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, Autumn, 1960, pp. 456-465. Personal reminiscences of the period, 1906-1909, giving much information about the people politically active at that time.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN. *The Islamic Review,* Woking, October, 1960, pp. 33-37. Tells of land distribution to 1,500 peasant families and gives statistics of education in the principal cities as well as employment statistics.

CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES OF MIDDLE EASTERN STUDENTS IN AMERICA. F. James Davis. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, Summer, 1960, pp. 256-264. A report of reactions from students from the Middle East, working in the universities of Minnesota and Michigan, to American life — particularly in relation to religion, marriage, race relations and education. Statistics.

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN IRAQ, 1952-1958. George Glassmuck. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, Autumn, 1960, pp. 397-415. The situation has deteriorated since 1954, when political parties of

all outlooks were forced underground and scorned to seek Ministerial approval for their continuance, so that in 1958 all but 27 deputies were elected without opposition for the Chamber's 143 seats.

FACTORS OF CULTURAL DIVERGENCE. H. A. R. Gibb. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society,* Karachi, April, 1960, pp. 85-89. Discusses the differences between West and East in regard to the family and to social distinctions.

FINANCIAL REFORMS IN SAUDI ARABIA. Arthur M. Young. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, Autumn, 1960, pp. 466-469. Beginning in 1952, when the currency was stabilized, the author traces the various trends which have culminated in the valuable reforms of 1958-1960.

INSIDE AFGHANISTAN — A BACKGROUND TO RECENT TROUBLES. Andrew Wilson. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London, July-October, 1960, pp. 286-295. Family and tribal divisions are being exploited by Russian aid and Russian propaganda and also the rapid emancipation of women has caused a "severe shock."

JEÛNE DU RAMADĀN ET LUTTE CONTRE SOUS-DÉVELOPPEMENT EN TUNISIE. Pierre Rondot. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris, 1960, part 2, pp. 45-49. The "evolution desired by progressive-minded Muslims" is typified by President Bourguiba's effort to liberalize the arduous season.

THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES AFTER FIFTEEN YEARS. Wendell Cleland. *World Affairs,* Washington, Summer, 1960, pp. 49-52. The author believes the League is helpful in bettering Arab life — especially through the work of its technical bureaus.

THE LEBANESE ELECTIONS, 1960. Nicola A. Ziadeh. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, Autumn, 1960, pp. 367-381. A detailed statistical account.

A NEW FRONTIER — PAKISTAN'S SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN. *New York Times,* N.Y., February 5, 1961, Section 10. Twenty pages full of useful and encouraging information. Illustrated.

ON DETERMINANTS OF THE STATUS OF ARAB VILLAGE WOMEN. Henry Rosenfeld. *Man,* London, May, 1960, pp. 66-70. Explains that women have waived property rights to gain from guarantees of kinship.

THE POWER STRUGGLE IN IRAQ. Benjamin Shwadran. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York, May, 1960, pp. 150-161. Deals with the proceedings of the People's Court after the attempt on Qasim's life in 1959.

LA PRINCIPAUTÉ DE KOWEIT. Pierre Rossi. *Orient,* Paris. 1960, part 1. pp. 31-42. Describes excellent economic and political conditions.

UN PROBLÈME DE MINORITÉ — LES NOMADES DANS L'ÉTAT SOUDANAIS. J. Dupuis. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris, 1960, part 2, pp. 20-44. A very complete study.

UPHEAVAL IN TURKEY. M. Perlmann. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York, July, 1960, pp. 54-60. The author thinks most Turks believe the present regime to be constitutional in its actions and democratic in its planning altho .gh its origin was unorthodox.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ALGERIA — QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS. A. Chanderli. *The Islamic Review,* Woking, October, 1960, pp. 22-32. A survey of seven years' struggle for independence. Bibliography.

THE ASIAN CONTAINMENT FRONT FROM TURKEY TO KOREA. H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London, July-October, 1960, pp. 296-309. Conclusions drawn from the Prince's visit are that Russia is exercising a much more practical influence throughout the area than is the United States and the Western bloc even though the various countries are really afraid of Communism.

BRITISH M. P.S AND THEIR LOCAL PARTIES. Leon D. Epstein. *American Political Science Review,* Baltimore, June, 1960, pp. 374-390. The attitude of dissenting M.P.s during the Suez crisis produced varied reactions in their constituencies.

BRUTUS IN FOREIGN POLICY. Martin Wight. *International Affairs,* London, July, 1960, pp. 299-309. Presents Eden's errors in the Suez crisis as shown in his memoirs.

LA CONTROVERSIA TRA PERSIA E ʿIRĀQ PER LO SHAṬṬ EL-ʿARAB. Gianroberto Scarcia. *Oriente Moderno,* Roma. February, 1960. pp. 77-93. A review of the situation in 1959 and the motives back of the controversy.

LES ÉTATS ARABES ET LA PALESTINE. Marcel Colombe. *Orient,* Paris. 1960, part 1. pp. 13-17. Tells of Israel's position in inter-Arab politics.

L'IRAN ET SES VOISINS. Paul Giniewski. *Politique Etrangère,* Paris. 1960, part 3. pp. 284-292. Describes the country's anxiety with Russia to the North and Iraq to the West.

L'ISLAM ET LE MONDE MODERNE. Mohamed Talbi. *Politique Etrangère,* Paris. 1960, part 2. pp. 101-109. Tells of Islam's efforts to surmount the difficulties besetting it in law, thought and worship.

MIDDLE EAST TRADE. The Hon. George Nelson. *Central Asian Review,* London. October, 1960. pp. 222-233. Discusses the work of the Advisory Council on Middle East Trade — an organization to advise the Government on ways for improving British trade and to suggest constructive ideas to industry.

NASSER'S DARING DREAM. Joachim Joesten. *World Today,* London. February, 1960. pp. 55-63. Describes how the development of the Aswan High Dam changed from an international undertaking to a Russian one.

THE NEW EAST-AFRICAN REPUBLIC OF SOMALIA. I. M. Lewis. *World Today,* London. July, 1960. pp. 287-296. Points out the importance of Egypt's influence in the new country.

Delete the last six items in the Survey of Periodicals and conserve them for the October 1961 issue.

Reference Librarian SUE MOLLESON FOSTER
Union Theological Seminary
New York